DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 205 666 UD 021 617

AUTHOR Kim, Kenneth Kong-On: And Others
TITLE Korean-Americans in Los Angeles: Their Concerns and Language Maintenance. Technical Report 01-81.
INSTITUTION National Center for Bilingual Research.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE May 81
CONTRACT 00-CA-80-0001
NOTE 90p.: Some tables may be marginally legible due to reproduction quality of original document.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation: Bilingual Education: *Community Characteristics: Immigrants: *Korean: *Korean Americans: *Korean Culture: *Language Maintenance: Second Language Learning
IDENTIFIERS California (Long Beach): *California (Los Angeles)

ABSTRACT

A preliminary study was conducted by the National Center for Bilingual Education on the Korean community living in the United States. The study focused on Korean Americans residing within the Los Angeles Long Beach area of southern California, one of the largest Korean communities in the United States. This report includes: (1) a history of the settlement patterns and characteristics of the Koreans and Korean Americans in the United States: (2) an analysis of Korean family structure and its effect on language maintenance and language loss: (3) a review of the language issues affecting the Korean American community: and (4) a profile of business, social and voluntary organizations that provide services in Korean. The report concludes with a summary and analysis of the Korean language and culture maintenance issues. (Author/APM)

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ED205666

Technical Report 01-81

KOREAN-AMERICANS IN LOS ANGELES: THEIR CONCERNS AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

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May, 1981

UD021617

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors of this report wish to express their deepest gratitude to Doctors Robert Berdan and David Lopez for providing the initial conceptualization of this project; to Professors John and Jenny Cook Gumperz for the many hours spent on the project and on the content and organization of the report. We also thank Professors Bok-Lim C. Kim, Changsoo Lee, and Eui-Young Yu for participating in discussions at the outset of the study and for very kindly providing copies of their work relevant to the project. We are grateful to Dr. Victor Rodriguez for his comments and suggestions which have improved the style and readability of this report. The authors, however, claim sole responsibility for the contents of this report and any of its shortcomings.

KOREAN-AMERICANS IN LOS ANGELES: THEIR CONCERNS AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

ABSTRACT

The following is a preliminary study conducted by the National Center for Bilingual Research on the Korean community now living in the United States. While the study focuses on the Korean-Americans residing within the Los Angeles-Long Beach area of Southern California, their community constitutes one of the largest in the United States and includes features characteristic of the larger population. This report includes: a history of the settlement patterns and characteristics of the Koreans and Korean-Americans in the United States; family structure and the effect on language maintenance/language loss; a chapter on language issues affecting the Korean-American community; a profile of business, social and voluntary organizations that provide services in Korean for the community; and a final chapter summarizing and concluding the study.

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0.0 Introduction

Koreans are one of a number of recently arrived Asian groups that have come to occupy an important place in the social and economic life of the Los Angeles area. The great majority of Koreans have been in the U.S. less than 10 years. Most, or at least an unusually high percentage, are people of middle class and professional background and earn their living as small entrepreneurs, as do other Americans of similar social status. They are relatively mobile geographically, often moving from ethnically homogeneous inner-city regions to English dominant suburban areas within a few years after initial settlement. They are relatively quick to adapt to U.S. business conditions in spite of various linguistic and cultural difficulties.

These facts raise a number of problems for an ethnographic study which is to serve as a background for research on language usage, maintenance and language shift. Current sociolinguistic research tends to assume, rather than to document, the existence of stable, geographically bounded communities with readily identifiable norms, values and attitudes which can be directly related to or correlated with language usage problems. For Koreans the very existence of such a community, the extent to which it is bounded, the existence of uniform sets of norms to which most individuals conform, is open to question. Moreover, given the usually deep involvement of many Koreans in the general business life, one might question whether there is any motivation for language maintenance at all. In other words, do Koreans constitute a community at all or are they more like sets of isolated individuals? If they are a community, how do they differ from the

communities of other Asian and European immigrants? What ethnographic evidence is there to suggest that Korean students will have learning problems similar to those of other urban minority groups? To answer such questions one must go beyond traditional group-oriented ethnography to concentrate on identification of the actual social processes.

Recent anthropological work in the theory of social network provides a model for this (see Gal, 1979, for a discussion on language maintenance and language shift). Network research focuses on individuals or family units and seeks empirical ways to determine the social relations that tie them to others. Of particular importance are those relationships that cluster around certain key institutions, i.e., family, business, professional organizations, religious and cultural organizations, health maintenance institutions, schools, etc. Such institutions differ in that interaction relative to them is evaluated in relation to different goals. For example, in education a major goal is the acquisition of literacy; at work the goal is production, etc. Participation in such institutions also involves different types of relationships with others. Information about such matters is of great importance as a background for evaluating data on language choice and language attitude.

This report is an attempt to look at the Los Angeles Korean community with special attention to the Korean language use with the above approach in mind. The report has five parts: (1) a short history of Korean immigration, (2) the traditional Korean family as a supportive environment for language maintenance, (3) Korean language

maintenance as a community's concern, (4) the role of business and social organizations in language maintenance, and (5) a summary and conclusions.

1.0 Settlement Patterns and Characteristics of the Koreans

1.1 Koreans in the United States. The history of Korean immigration into the United States can be traced back to the early 1900's, when the initial groups of Koreans began to arrive in Hawaii to work in the sugar plantations. By 1905, when the Protectorate Treaty was signed between the Korean and Japanese governments and further immigration was halted by the Korean government, a total of 7,226 Koreans had been admitted to Hawaii. Between 1905 and 1945, only a very limited number of "picture brides," students, and political exiles came to the United States. However, they entered the United States with Japanese passports, and the exact number of Korean immigrants during this period is not known.

There is no record of Korean immigrants for the 1945-47 period and fewer than 100 Koreans came to the United States between 1948-50. Yu (1977) estimates the Korean population in the United States in 1950 to be approximately 17,300 based on immigration records and on an annual increase rate of 3%.

Since 1950, the pattern of Korean immigration has changed significantly in the number of immigrants and in the characteristics of the immigrants. The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service reports show that 6,231 Koreans were admitted during the ten year period between 1951-60, and another 7,797 during 1961-64. Unlike the earlier immigrants who came to the United States to work in the plantations, the Korean immigrants during 1951-64 were mostly war brides and orphans that the Korean War produced, plus a considerable

number of students who wanted to get a higher education in this country.

The passage of the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, which repealed the national origin quota system, accelerated the growth even further (see Table 1). In the 1970 Census of Population, Koreans were listed as a separate ethnic group for the first time and the Census shows that there were 69,510 Koreans in the United States, excluding the State of Alaska. However, the Census figure is seriously in doubt because it excludes a large number of non-immigrant Koreans waiting for a visa status change into permanent residency status, children and women misclassified due to mixed parentage or inter-racial marriage, and even those Koreans classified as illegal aliens. For example, in January, 1970, 11,000 non-immigrant Koreans reported their whereabouts to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The actual number of Koreans in this category is believed to be much greater. According to an estimation made in consideration of the above factors, natural population growth rate, and the number of immigrants after the 1970 Census, there were, in early 1979, approximately 400,000 Koreans in the United States (Yu, 1979).

The 1970 Census shows that California had 24% of the national total of 69,510 Koreans and Hawaii had the next highest at 14%. The Los Angeles-Long Beach Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) alone accounted for 8,811, 12.7% of the national total. Nearly 80% of the Koreans in the Honolulu SMSA were native-born, whereas only 38% of the Koreans in Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSA were native-born, a large proportion probably children of recent immigrants.

Tabe 1. Korean Immigrants to the United States 1960-1976

Year	Korean Immigrants
1960	1,507
1961	1,534
1962	1,538
1963	2,580
1964	2,362
1965	2,165
1966	2,492
1967	3,395
1968	3,811
1969	6,045
1970	9,314
1971	14,297
1972	18,876
1973	22,930
1974	28,028
1975	28,362
1976	30,803

Source: U.S. Immgration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports (1960-1976)

Unlike other Oriental immigrants, Koreans tend to disperse widely over all states. For example, 41% of Koreans live in the western region whereas 81% of Japanese, 74% of Filipinos, and 57% of the Chinese lived in the same region in 1970. According to the 1973 alien address report, 65% of the Chinese had addresses in California and New York, 74% of the Filipinos in California and Hawaii, and 72% of the Japanese in California and Hawaii. In contrast, only 35% of the Koreans lived in California and New York whereas the rest were almost evenly distributed throughout all the states (Yu, 1977).

Besides Los Angeles, other metropolitan areas with a significant number of Koreans include New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Washington, DC, Houston, Honolulu and Denver. According to the New York Times (November 26, 1976), about 70,000 Koreans lived in the Queens and Lower Manhattan areas of New York City. In Chicago, a majority of 30,000-40,000 Koreans lived in the Uptown and Albany Park areas. The Korean residents in other urban areas also formed an ethnic community with a geographically definable boundary, which is characterized by many small Korean businesses such as Korean grocery markets, restaurants, and Korean ethnic churches.

Among the major characteristics of the Korean population in the United States, the following are most notable.

(1) A large proportion of the Koreans are recent immigrants with the average of 5.3 years of residence in the United States. Approximately 87% of the Koreans have lived in this country for fewer than 10 years (Oh, 1979).

(2) The education level of the Korean immigrants is extremely high. In 1979, 60% of the Koreans over the age of college completion were college graduates (Oh, 1979).

(3) The majority of Korean immigrants are from middle or upper middle class origin. The HEW Report on the occupational status of the Korean immigrants during 1965-73 indicates that 72% were professional, technical, and managerial workers in Korea, and farm and non-farm laborers were only 1% (HEW Annual Report as quoted by Lee, 1975). However, about 25% of the Koreans who settled in this country were engaged in menial jobs (Oh, 1979).

(4) A relatively high proportion of the Korean population are children of school ages. In 1973, children under age five were 16.7% for Koreans, 10.1% for Filipinos, 5.1% for Chinese, 5.4% for Japanese (Annual Report, United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, 1973). In 1979, the average number of children in a household was 2.02 (Oh, 1979).

(5) A considerable proportion of Koreans, about 20%, have an extended family with household head's parents or parents-in-law in the family (Oh, 1979).

(6) A large number of Koreans in the United States are self-employed. In 1979, about 25% of the Koreans with an employment status were self-employed (Oh, 1979).

(7) The major problem of Koreans is the lack of English language proficiency. About 47% cited the language problem as the most serious problem. Heavy reliance on Korean language newspapers for information reflects the problem. Forty seven percent of Korean families were subscribing to a Korean language daily newspaper. Only 15% subscribed to an English newspaper (Oh, 1979).

(8) A great proportion of Korean immigrants came to this country to join their family. In 1979, about 34% immigrated through the invitation of immediate family members and 76% reported that they had close relatives in the United States (Oh, 1979). The influx of relatives of the Korean residents in the U.S. is due to the fact that, under the current

immigration law, 84% of the immigration quota for each nation is for immediate relatives of the permanent residents or U.S. citizens of foreign origin.

The characteristics and problems listed above will be elaborated in the discussion of the Korean population in the Los Angeles area, which is the focus of our interest in this report.

1.2 Koreans in the Los Angeles Area. As mentioned in the preceding section, the 1970 Census shows that there were 8,811 Koreans in Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSA, which is about 12.7% of the 69,510 Koreans in the United States. Again, this figure is 10 years old now. Recently, some local newspapers began to quote 150,000 as the number of Korean residents in the Los Angeles area. However, this figure seems to be a grossly exaggerated estimate. In a mail questionnaire survey using 12,956 telephone listings of Korean people, Lee & Wagatsuma (1978) estimated the number of Koreans living in the Los Angeles basin to be 58,421 as of November, 1977. This figure is close to another figure of 55,000-60,000 which was obtained in an independently conducted survey by Yu (1979).

The areas covered in Lee & Wagatsuma's survey include Los Angeles County and some portions of Orange and Ventura Counties. Two hundred sixty four zip code zones in these areas had Korean residents at the time of the survey.

According to this survey, 47% of the entire Korean population was living in an area of approximately 8 square miles, which is called Los Angeles Korea Town. This core area covers 12 zip code zones: 90004, 90005, 90006, 90007, 90010, 90016, 90018, 90019, 90020, 90029, 90038,

and 90057, which are located south of 3rd Street, north of Washington Boulevard, bordered by Crenshaw Boulevard in the west and Burlington Avenue in the east. This area is characterized as an aging and deteriorating residential neighborhood of low income Blacks, Mexican-Americans, other Asians, and elderly Whites. This area has many multiunit apartment buildings. The relatively low rent of the old apartments and houses and easy access to public transportation must have attracted many new Korean immigrants.

According to the 1970 Census, 62% of the Korean population in the Los Angeles SMSA were foreign-born. However, due to the rapid increase in new immigrants since 1970, over 90% of the Korean household heads and their spouses in the Los Angeles area were foreign-born in 1979. In the same year about 30% had been settled in the area for more than five years. Over 25% were children under age 9 and 18% were those between 10 and 19. The ratio of young people under 19 years of age, 43%, is considerably higher than the national average of 34%.

The geographic mobility of the Koreans in the Korea Town area and its vicinity is extremely high. According to a survey based on the telephone directory listings of Korean residents in 6 zip code areas of Korea Town including 90004, 90005, 90006, 90010, 90019, and 90020, only 11% of the residents in 1972 remained in the same area in 1977 (Yu, 1979), implying that 89% of the Korean residents moved out of this area during the five years. On the other hand, about 38% of the 1972 telephone listings of the Korean residents in Monterey Park, a middle class residential area, were still found in the 1977 listings. The difference is indicative of the relatively high mobility of the Koreans in the Korea Town area.

Lee & Wagatsuma (1978) point out a distinctive correlation between the length of residence in the United States and the suburbanizing trend among the Koreans, that is, the longer the length of residence, the more likely it is that Koreans will leave the inner city and move to a suburban area. The Korea Town area thus serves as a "launching station" for many new Korean immigrants.

As discussed already, the education level of the Koreans is extremely high. Approximately 60% of the Koreans over the age of college completion were college graduates in 1977 (Lee & Wagatsuma, 1978). No significant relationship between education level and areas of residence was observed. For this reason, although Korea Town and its vicinity is considered to be a socioeconomically low neighborhood, the Koreans in this area can hardly be regarded as such.

The high education level of the Koreans is hardly reflected in their employment status in the Los Angeles area. About 45% think that their occupational level is not commensurate with their education and 31% feel that they are not paid fairly in view of their education (B.-L. Kim, 1980). Very significant about the employment status of the Koreans in the Los Angeles area is that about 45% of the total labor force is self-employed (Lee & Wagatsuma, 1978). This ratio is much higher than the 25% based on the Korean samples selected from different parts of the United States (Oh, 1979). The ratio of self-employment was higher, particularly in middle or high status areas such as Monterey Park (70%) and Palos Verdes (79%).

As the short average length of residence in the United States indicates, most parents of Korean children received their education in

Korea. Eighty-nine percent of the parents of selected elementary school children did not have any additional education in the United States (B.-L. Kim, 1980). Despite the high aspiration and motivation of Korean parents for the education of their children, the lack of knowledge about the curriculum at school and the educational system in general prohibits active participation in educational activities for the children. Another important inhibitive factor is, of course, the lack of English proficiency.

The English language problem is serious for both parents and students. For example, 88% of Korean workers with limited English proficiency were engaged in menial jobs in spite of their high education level, and 48% of Korean students in the Korea Town area reported that English was the most serious difficulty in school (Yu, 1977). A 1973 survey (U.S. DHEW, 1977) shows that 99% of the Koreans in Los Angeles Korea Town, New York, and San Francisco were using Korean as their primary home language.

2.0 The Korean Family in the United States

According to Lee & Wagatsuma (1978), the average number of persons in a Korean family living in the Los Angeles area was 4.9 in 1977. Families of 3-5 persons constituted 77.3% of the total number of families. Since a large proportion of people were under 19 (43.6%), many families must have one or more children in the family. Yu's data (Yu, 1979) shows that in 1979, 73.6% of the families in Los Angeles had at least one child in their family and 6.9% had at least one child and one grandparent.

All the above statistics clearly indicate that the education of children and maintenance of Korean should be matters of great concern for most Korean immigrant families. As pointed out already, Korean immigrant adults are highly educated and, thus, highly motivated for their children's educational development. About 24% of the Korean immigrant families responded in a survey (Oh, 1979) that the most important reason for immigration to the United States was to give their children better educational opportunities.

Do parents think that they are achieving the goal? In general, parents seem to be satisfied with the academic and social learning of their children at school (B.-L. Kim, 1980). However, there is a growing concern that the children are rapidly losing or fail to learn the Korean language and cultural traits that their parents want them to keep or learn, and are beginning to develop a very different value system which is hardly acceptable to the parents. To better understand the nature of the concern, we will discuss the traditional Korean family as a social and educational institution with emphasis on the

following: The traditional relationships among the family members; the effects of American culture on the Korean family; and Korean language maintenance as the family's need and concern.

2.1 Hierarchical Relationships in the Traditional Korean Family. Traditionally, in Korea, as in other countries of Asia, the family is considered not only the basic unit of society but also the most important of all social institutions. Note that it is the Confucian scheme of "five relationships" that has made up the warp and woof of social life in Asia for so many centuries. The "five relationships" are those between 1) parents and children, 2) older person and younger person, 3) husband and wife, 4) friends, and 5) ruler and subject. That three of these five relationships exist within the family is indicative of how important Confucius believed this institution to be.

As has long been viewed by the Asian people, it is vital to the health of society that these relationships be rightly constituted and properly observed. Each of the relationships is non-transitive and hierarchical and, in each case, different responses are appropriate to the pairing terms. Thus, a son should be reverential; a younger person respectful; a wife submissive; a subject loyal. And, reciprocally, a father should be strict and loving; an older person wise and gentle; a husband good and understanding; a ruler righteous and benevolent; and friends trusting and trustworthy. In other words, one is never alone when one acts since every action affects someone else.

A traditional Korean family is, therefore, a highly structured institution where the role and duty of each member in relation to the other is clearly defined, and relationships remain almost always

vertical. It has little concept of "equality," for in it there is always hierarchy to look up to and one is constantly reminded of his place in the scheme of the stereotyped relationships. Crane (1967) most aptly puts the hierarchy within a traditional Korean family when he says: ". . . Even twins are not equal; the first one to show his face is senior to the later one out." Thus, even from their childhood, the Korean people are inured to a hierarchically ordered life in the family where their place is already determined by age, sex, birth order, etc.

Incidentally, this Korean emphasis on hierarchy is well reflected in their language which distinguishes at least four levels of speech. One should choose an appropriate level of speech depending upon the social status of his/her speech partner or the person being talked about. A person with a higher social position is appropriately addressed in the most honorific form, while a person with a lower position is addressed in the plainest form, stripped of honorific implication whatsoever.

Today the image of a Korean family with an overbearing father at the head, supported by a submissive wife and obedient, overly conforming children does not necessarily represent reality to the extent that it did some generations ago. In Korea, as everywhere in the world, the family structure and the relationships among the family members have been changing constantly together with the changes in the social and political aspects of life. In the framework of a totalitarian society it tends to be totalitarian, while in a democratic and open environment it tends to be democratic and autonomous (Blisten,

1963). Nevertheless, the Korean family, particularly in its initial phase of transplanted life in the United States, still seems to remain an essentially structured and cohesive social unit with the parents-children relationship firmly rooted in its traditional foundation.

2.2 Linguistic and Cultural Conflicts in the Korean Family. The changing nature of this parents-children relationship in a Korean immigrant family is creating a potentially serious problem that can, in the end, erode the family system itself. Indeed, a spectre of the breakdown of the family as a traditional institution is already haunting some Korean immigrant parents. They desire to maintain and preserve the traditional cultural values for themselves and their children, while the latter are drawn more and more to the value system of the new culture which is youth-oriented and, in the eyes of the parents, is "excessively" free and even damaging to the family as a basic social institution.

For the growing generation of the Korean immigrant family, the acculturation process at school and in the neighborhood plays an equally significant role in forming their value system. To these young people, the conflict of two cultures, represented by their parents on the one hand and by the school and community outside their homes on the other, often means a conflict of loyalties, a potentially serious problem.

Many Korean parents (about 54%), who have not yet experienced cultural conflict between themselves and their children, either expect it or are worried about it (B.-L. Kim, 1980). About 33% have perceived

conflict already. Considering that 62.1% of the responding families in Los Angeles lived in the United States for fewer than 3 years, and 90.3% for fewer than 6 years, the rate of parents perceiving the conflict is likely to rise significantly as time widens the gap even further.

A concrete case in point may be one that surrounds the issue of dating. Korean parents understand that in America dating of boys and girls is accepted by parents and the society as a whole. But, in a majority of cases, they are not prepared to sanction such accepted ways of juvenile culture in America. They would not allow dating of their teenage offspring on the grounds of Korean custom and value system. Reacting to this, the young generation would say that they are living in the United States and not in Korea, and that they do as Americans do. In such a situation young children are likely to be forced, rather than convinced, to comply with their parents' wish.

In his study of the acculturation process of Koreans in Georgia, Lee (1975) itemizes, as follows, some American behavior patterns that are disagreeable or confusing to adult Koreans.

(1) Sexual behavior of young Americans

> "Most Koreans have indicated that they have not been pleased with the sexual liberalism and immorality of Americans, especially the young people."

(2) Relationship between the young and the old

> "This is an important part of the Korean culture and value system. Obedience of the young to the old is a criterion of Korean ethics."

(3) Teenagers' behavior

> "In Korea, sons and daughters are not supposed to smoke or drink in front of their parents . . . smoking in front of

father . . . is never expected. No Korean parents urge their children to date."

(4) Student-teacher relationship

"Obedience to and respect for the teacher is mandatory and student behavior in front of the teacher is supposed to be courteous and modest. It seems that no ethical relationship between the student and the teacher exists in the United States."

(5) Treatment of women

"Most Korean men indicated that treatment of women as American men do is one of the most difficult customs to follow . . ."

The difficulty of the situation for the Korean-American family is compounded by two practical factors immediately relevant to survival in the new environment, that is, the economic fact of life and the limited language proficiency. In many cases, both parents work. Survey statistics (B.-L. Kim, 1980) show that 86.8% of Korean fathers and 71.1% of Korean mothers are working full-time outside their home. These parents are unable to allocate enough time and attention for their children. Inevitably, a meaningful communication between the generations becomes increasingly less frequent. Wholly unaccustomed to the practice of "baby-sitting" at a day care center in the United States and at a loss as to what to do about it, many Korean parents simply leave their children behind at home and often to their own devices. B.-L. Kim (1980) reports that 4.5% of the preschool age children are cared for at a professional day care center, and 33.6% by relatives, neighbors or friends, and only 24.3% by parents. There are cases known to exist where children spend only one or two hours a day with their parents because of their busy work-schedules. A Korean-

English bilingual teacher in Los Angeles is getting telephone calls frequently toward the evening hours from some of her pupils who are anxiously waiting for their parents' return from work. This teacher has learned that in some cases a young child has to take care of his or her younger brothers and sisters.

Communication on the literal level constitutes an equally serious problem between Korean parents and children. Being predominantly latecomers, the Korean immigrants in America are largely a Korean-speaking group and the language spoken at home is Korean. The new Korean immigrant children experience many serious problems, due mainly to the lack of English proficiency. However, after two or three years of residence in the United States, the children rapidly gain competency in English. As they do so, they tend to lose their Korean language skills, especially in reading and writing, which begin to deteriorate first. Parents--mothers in particular--are slow to make progress in English due to the greater degree of self-consciousness of the older language learners and also due to the greater degree of linguistic and sociocultural complexity of the adult speech input which reduces the comprehensibility and learnability of the speech input. Consequently, on many occasions, parents and children have difficulty in communicating fully with each other either in English or Korean. The younger children who came here before reaching school age, and especially those who have become proficient in English, have greater difficulty in communicating in Korean than those who are older and have already established the native language skills firmly.

It is still somewhat early to make any conclusive statement on how successful the Korean immigrant family has been and will be in providing a supportive environment for maintenance of their native language and culture for their younger generation. As much as it is at the very heart of the Korean-American community as a whole, however, identity or appreciation of one's own ethnicity and culture is the overriding concern of Korean parents for the sake of their offspring as well as themselves. Understandably, therefore, they do their best to instill their Korean values and interests in their children.

Most Los Angeles parents want their children to maintain the following Korean cultural traits (B.-L. Kim, 1980): Extensive use of Korean (99.7%), obedience to elders (97.7%), respect for authority (84.4%), modesty about one's accomplishments (94.5%), and politeness or humbleness in social situations (99.0%). However, more than half of the same parents do not want their children to maintain such traits as saving face (51.3%) and extended family system with grandparents in the home (58.4%). As will be discussed in the following chapter, the flourishing efforts to teach the Korean language at the Korean language schools well reflect the seriousness of the parents' concern about maintaining Korean values and language.

For the young Korean-Americans, teenagers and adolescents in particular, the issue of identity does not necessarily have to be "ethnic" in nature, and, certainly, not that of ethnic identity with nationalistic overtones which the first generation adult Koreans so often seem to be advocating. The immediate issue for them may not even be that of identity but merely a sense of belonging.

The Korean-American youths find themselves in an obscure zone somewhere in between the two communities and cultures. They feel that they are not wholly accepted by the mainstream community, nor do they feel at home when they return to their family where their "excessive" Americanization often becomes the topic of disapproval among their parents and elders. So, rejected and alienated, they feel that both sides of their Korean-American identity are being forfeited. Lee (1980) attributes this parental inability to understand and redress the plight of these young people to their refusal to truly immigrate into America in order to avoid the negative consequences of their life in the new foreign, seemingly even hostile, environments.

> There is . . . a widespread tendency among them to stay within their Korean ethnic enclaves and nostalgically hold on to only things Korean, rejecting all things new and American. The escapist refusal to really become immigrants and recognize their two-sided identity . . . must be the cause of a serious and deepening alienation between the elder and the younger generations in the Korean immigrant families and communities (p. 56).

Among the Korean immigrant parents there is clearly a strong propensity to limit the horizons of their lives to the comfortable world of their own culture and their own ethnicity. A very recent survey indicates that many Korean immigrants desire to return to their homeland when they reach old age in order to live out the rest of their lives there (Oh, 1979).

Out of their instinctive wisdom, the Korean immigrants see that to preserve one's own cultural heritage is to preserve one's essential selfhood. Ethnicity may not be the only constitutive element of a human being, but it is certainly one of the most vital and indispensable elements, inasmuch as one cannot remain just a general

human being. One's being a human and his humanity can only be manifested "historically" through concrete terms.

Yu (1973) in a recent survey conducted in Seattle, Washington, graphically demonstrates the supportive and nurturing function of the Korean ethnic family in the acculturation process of their children. According to his finding, the Korean immigrant children in America from a highly acculturated home tend to have lower personality adjustment than those coming from homes of lower acculturation. This inverse direction of the correlations, together with their magnitude, surprised the researcher who had expected quite the contrary. For a theoretical corroboration, Yu quotes Linton (1940) who maintains that adverse effects are as easily created by blocking the old patterns as from the enforced reception of new ones:

> The only elements of culture which can be forced upon another society are certain forms of behavior. The attitudes and values of the dominant group cannot be transferred in this way. The receiving group can usually modify and re-interpret the new enforced behavior in terms of its own value system and finally assimilate it successfully. The inhibition of pre-exisiting patterns, on the other hand, inevitably leaves some of the society's needs unsatisfied. . . . (p. 507)

In other words, to inhibit their former culture does amount to forefeiting a point of reference for the new culture, without which one is most likely to suffer from an overdose of unfamiliar values with the possible consequence of a long-term personality maladjustment. This phenomenon is seen as an outcome of the fact that highly acculturated immigrants tend to inhibit their pre-existing culture while not yet assimilating into the host society.

If, on the other hand, a child's parents are supportive and appreciative rather than rejective of their former culture, the child will have a chance of attaining a better personality adjustment in his or her new cultural environment. Advancing a positive reading of the now popularly discredited notion of "melting pot," Park, an octogenarian second-generation Korean-American says: "The end of the melting pot theory of social assimilation in fact demands that a person be ethnically identified. . . . A person is really prepared to be American . . . only when he understands his heritage and can relate as an equal to persons of other cultures" (Park, 1977).

2.3 Maintenance of the Korean Language in the Home. In view of the discussions above, language or culture maintenance efforts are certainly not for reasons of ethnic separatism. Rather, they constitute a constructive step toward a gradual acculturation which would not be radically disruptive to the value system underlying the life of the immigrant families. As noted already, many Korean immigrant parents have begun to feel the widening gap between themselves and their children, and the community efforts for language maintenance are deeply rooted in the concern of the parents.

In spite of their concern, many parents do not know what to do. They believe that sending their child to a weekend school or the use of Korean at home among adult members is sufficient. Many such parents realize only too late that these methods are grossly inadequate. Quite often, the parents' bilingual skills or their excessive eagerness to attain bilinguality results, against their intent, in a failure to raise their child to be bilingual. Korean parents who completed high

school education in Korea studied English at least six years, and, thus, most young parents learn simple English everyday conversation relatively quickly. Frequently, such parents tend to accept the child's use of English at home, respond to the child in English, and even practice English by using English with the child.

The same parents, however, in the presence of Korean-speaking adults from outside the family, use Korean with the child and demand that the child use Korean, partly in fear of disclosing their limited English and partly in an effort to demonstrate their consciousness of the ethnic identity or loyalty which is normally expected of an educated Korean. Such an ambivalent attitude and inconsistency of the parents eventually result in an unwanted language shift in the child in a relatively short period of time.

However, there are some factors that might help the concerned parents' efforts to maintain the Korean language in the home. First, in most extended families with grandparents in the home, the children do not have a choice but to use Korean to communicate with their grandparents. In many such families, Korean is the only language used in the home until the child begins to learn English in the day-care center or school. A great proportion of second generation Koreans who understand or speak Korean are from such families.

Second, as pointed out earlier, since the passage of the 1965 Immigration Reform Act, a great number of Korean immigrants came to this country to join their immediate family members, such as parents, brothers, sisters, and spouses. Since the newly arriving relatives tend to stay near their sponsoring relatives, they have frequent

contacts with each other on weekends or on special occasions, such as traditional holidays, birthdays, anniversaries, etc. The language of such family gatherings is normally exclusively Korean. In such family gatherings, the young children get exposure to the Korean language and Korean manners, and they are even pressed to use Korean, as it is demanded by older, usually limited-English-speaking participants at the gatherings.

Third, many recent immigrant families rely on Korean-speaking relatives, friends, and neighbors for day-care of their preschool children and only 4.5% of the preschool age children are cared for at a professional day-care center. Since most of the private baby sitters are monolingual Korean or limited-English-speaking recent immigrants, the role of these baby sitters should be significant in the Korean language development of the children.

The above factors are expected to exist as long as the current immigration rate and pattern continue, and to play a positive role for Korean language maintenance. As the young generation Koreans grow in this society, however, as Korean parents become more proficient in English, and as the extended family system and the traditionally close kinship ties are gradually weakened, the family's role in language maintenance might be reduced accordingly.

3.0 Korean Language Maintenance

3.1 Attitude of the Koreans toward Their Language. Among many immediate survival problems that the recent Korean immigrants are experiencing in this country, the language problem has been the most prominent one because it directly affects their occupational opportunities, the process of adjustment to the new cultural environments, and the education of their children. The most immediate concern of the Korean immigrants is thus to learn English to communicate with the English-speaking people outside of the family, and the maintenance or development of their home language has been virtually neglected.

Now that many Koreans have settled in the U.S. for a few years, the language problem is less a matter of immediate survival, but has developed to a different kind of problem in nature. Many young Korean immigrant children and those who were born here of Korean parents began to lose or failed to learn Korean despite the fact that their parents or other older members of the family speak only Korean. Many parents have begun to sense the linguistic and cultural gap between themselves and their children. The parents have become keenly aware that a survival level of English proficiency is inadequate for the highly emotive interaction between themselves and the children. The children seem, to the parents, to become Americanized all too soon, to lose their identity as Koreans, and to become even antagonistic towards their parents' value system. Many parents feel that these changes in their children's attitudes derive from the loss of the home language. The initial survival problem seems to have developed into an identity

problem and a problem of value conflict between the old and young members of the family.

There evolves a great debate among many concerned parents about the relationship between the Korean language and Korean identity. The following interviews well represent the divided opinion on this matter. Although all three persons interviewed are different in many respects from recent immigrants, their opinions well represent the points of view of the new immigrants regarding the use of the Korean language.

(1) Dr. Roh, 58 year old college professor, has lived in America since 1959. Father of one daughter and three sons, aged from 19 to 32. Dr. Roh is Chairman of the Board of Directors for the Korean American Youth Foundation (KAYF), a 10 year old organization that owns a resident camp and operates every summer a resident camp for about 200 Korean-American youths.

He thinks it is good for the young generation to learn their native language, but does not believe that it should be the first priority. They should first learn how to become professionally capable in this American society. The task of obtaining the capability to compete with other Americans is the first priority in their education. They should not sacrifice the time and energy necessary for developing their professional capability in order to study their native language.

The native language is the most efficient tool for teaching Korean heritage, but it is not a necessity. The heritage can be taught in English, too. Language is a skill. To enlighten the children about identity, the most important thing is the ideal and attitude of the parents and children, not the skill.

Dr. Roh said he did not teach Korean to his children, but noted that all of his three sons have been actively involved in the voluntary services for the KAYF and that his 21 year old second son, an English literature major at Harvard University, is now taking a Korean language course.

(2) Mr. Min, a lawyer serving Koreans in the Los Angeles area, came to America in 1948. He married an American and has two sons, 9 and 4 years old. He is a board member of the Korean Youth Center, a CETA-funded organization in Los Angeles, and member of the Los Angeles County's Justice System Advisory Group.

Mr. Min believes that the native language is the most important tool to appreciate ethnic heritage and culture, and that his bilingual ability is an asset he feels most proud of.

Mr. Min's bilingual background enables him to serve limited- or non-English speaking Koreans and help them on problems arising from cultural differences.

Mr. Min wants his children to learn Korean, although he does not expect them to reach a full proficiency level. During the last semester he sent his older son to the Korean language class at his neighborhood Korean church. This fall, since the church no longer conducts the class, he plans to send him to the Korean School of Southern California every Saturday, which is located about 30 miles from his home.

(3) Dr. Chung, who was educated in the U.S., is the Director of the Korean Educational Guidance Center in Los Angeles, an English teaching institute for Koreans, supported by federal funds. She believes that teaching the Korean language should be an integral part of education for Korean-American children. She thinks that a child cannot develop a wholesome personality unless he has full communication with his parents and understands his ethnic background well. It is most desirable for a child to learn the history and culture of his ancestors through the language of the culture.

Dr. Chung advocates that the programs of Korean language schools be expanded. She emphasizes that the hours of class should be extended from the present several hours on one weekend day to at least one hour every weekday.

Dr. Chung came to America in 1963, and has three children. Her oldest daughter, 29, a mother of a 5 year old girl, speaks and reads Korean fluently. The 5 year old speaks fluent Korean, which she learned from her mother and at a Korean language school. Dr. chung, however, feels ashamed that her two younger children were not taught Korean. Until a decade ago she had been so busy studying and working that she could not teach them, and there were no Korean language schools in Arizona where she lived. Fortunately, the eldest one had learned Korean back in Korea and continued her study.

Note that Dr. Chung, the strongest advocate of the Korean language learning, failed to help her two younger children become bilingual. It is very common that young school age children, particularly 4-6 year olds, switch to English two or three years after their settlement here,

while their parents are still having difficulty in communicating in English. In many cases, by the time the parents realize the seriousness of the consequences of not paying enough attention to their children's language use, the child has already reached the point where the regaining of proficiency in Korean is almost like learning Korean as a second language. Many parents give up not knowing what to do and suffer the unwanted consequences, that is, limited communication and cultural gap within the family.

The following interviews vividly exemplify the types of language-related problems at home, and the general attitude of Korean parents toward the language use of their children. Two Korean female interviewers randomly selected the persons to be interviewed among their acquaintances. The interviewers did not have any detailed prior knowledge about the people interviewed, such as level of English proficiency, attitude toward the Korean language and culture, and the ages of their children. Since most of the people worked weekdays, the interviews were conducted on either Saturday or Sunday at their house. Although there was no formal written questionnaire, the following were the most frequent questions: (1) Personal data including education and number of years of residence in the United States; (2) language used at home and work, and language-related problems of the family members; and (3) opinion about the maintenance of Korean in the United States. The following are translations of the summaries of interviews originally written in Korean.

(1) Mrs. Park: 38 year old seamstress at a Korean-owned factory; 7 years of residence in America; received B.A. degree in English from a Korean university; lives in South Pasadena; has two children, 10 and 12 years old.

She uses Korean exclusively in communicating with her husband. Her husband is employed by an American company and speaks good Engish. But she has difficulty in communicating in English. She rarely attends a party or meeting where English-speaking persons are present. She feels deep frustration when she has to visit her children's school. Since most contacts with school are taken care of by her husband, she feels inadequate as a mother.

Mrs. Park communicates with her children by mixing the two languages. When sending them for an errand, she gets worried about whether they understood the message correctly. She tends to repeat, in English, "Did you understand?" When she needs to give them a serious message, she speaks to them mostly in Korean and the children respond in English. Sometimes, they do not understand and ask, "What do you mean?" or "What's that?" When she cannot explain in English, she gives up by saying "forget it."

She wishes her children would keep Korean. But they are losing it. They have lost the honorifics system already. These days, they will not go to a party or meeting to which their family are invited because they know that the language in the meeting is Korean. She feels ashamed when she sees their children cannot understand or answer questions asked in Korean by her friends.

She thinks it is good if the children could learn Korean. However, the first thing they should learn is English. They should first learn how to survive in the American society. Since they are Oriental, they must be better than the majority in order to survive and get treated equally. That is why she doesn't push them to study Korean. She feels sorry to see their children forget Korean ways of greeting. They just say "Hi" without bowing, which she feels is not a proper way of expressing respect to adults.

(2) Mr. Lee: 55 year old male employee at a dry cleaners; college graduate; has three children, all of whom are college students; lives in the middle of Los Angeles Korea Town; immigrated six years ago; his brother-in-law, who has five children, also lives in Los Angeles.

Mr. Lee communicates with his wife and children exclusively in Korean. In church and social parties, and at friends' and relatives' homes--they speak Korean. Their children are bilingual.

At his work, he has to use English. He speaks limited English, which is barely enough to carry out his assignments. Often he has to make gestures to make himself understood. He

uses a Korean bank and shops both at Korean and American markets. For businesses which require complicated English he gets help from his children.

He believes that Koreans should keep their language although they live in the U.S. and that the children should not lose the Oriental virtues of respecting elders.

(3) Mrs. Kim: 38 year old keypunch secretary; has two children, 11 and 8 years old; college graduate; immigrated 6 years ago: now resides in Sepulveda.

Korean is the dominant language of her home, church, doctor's office and markets in Korea Town. At her work, she uses Korean when communicating with two Korean co-workers. She does not have many occasions to use English.

Children use English exclusively when communicating among themselves, but they use Korean when communicating with their parents. She does not press them to study Korean, but tries her best to teach and correct their expressions when an occasion comes up.

She feels a communication gap with her children. Sometimes she feels that the children are shaping an attitude of disrespect for the parents. She thinks it is because they are getting Americanized and do not think they have to be polite toward elders in the same manner as Koreans do.

(4) Mr. Kang: 41 year old male, computer programmer; college graduate; has three children, 20, 18, and 15 years old; immigrated 8 years ago; now resides in Hancock Park of Los Angeles, an affluent residential area in the city.

Mr. Kang has no difficulty in English. He often attends parties with his wife where English is spoken. His wife uses limited English but well enough to make social expressions, like comments on weather, food, dresses, etc. At home he communicates in Korean with his wife. For communication with the children, he and his wife mix the two languages. The children understand most of the time. When they don't understand, the father explains in English.

In the earlier days of their immigration, he bought Korean books for the children in the hope that it would help them retain Korean. But they have lost most of it. They understand but can not express themselves fully in Korean. The oldest one can read and write Korean. Once in a while he writes letters to grandparents in Korea, but makes mistakes in grammar and spelling. Last summer, the second child visited Korea with a group of Korean-American students. He

became very much interested in Korean history and culture. He praises highly the beauty and polite manners of Korean girls.

When the parents have differences of opinion with children, the husband explains the parents' position and views in English. He does not force them to follow the elders blindly.

(5) Mrs. Oh: a 42 year old clerk of an airline company; her husband speaking limited English runs a grocery store in East Los Angeles; both college graduates; immigrated five years ago; live in West Los Angeles.

Their 12 year old son, having finished first grade in Korea, speaks, reads and writes Korean well and is now placed in a class for mentally gifted children. Mrs. Oh has had her son continue the study of Korean at home using the textbooks brought from Korea. Mrs. Oh presented two major purposes for teaching her son Korean. One is to enable the child to communicate with his parents, especially his father. The other is to provide greater occupational opportunities in the future for the child.

At home they answer phone calls by saying, "Yoboseyo" instead of "Hello," and speak only Korean. The boy, being closer to his mother than to his father, tends to speak English to her. When he gets emotional, he tends to use more English. In the presence of his father, however, he uses only Korean. When the father and son watch television together, the father asks the son to interpret some parts into Korean. Until about one year ago the boy was reluctant. Now, he gladly helps his father. She thinks she speaks English pretty well but when discussing a serious and complicated matter with her son, she feels it difficult to do that in English. She either mixes Korean and English or speaks only in Korean. She feels that if they don't use Korean at home, it would be difficult for them to give their child a sound home education. She doubts that a child can be expected to grow into a wholesome personality without a good education in his family. It is impossible to give good home education when there is no complete communication.

Mrs. Oh feels that her child's ability in Korean has not improved in the past few years. She estimates that the child's English is at the seventh grade level, but his Korean is at the fourth grade level.

Mrs. Oh says she cannot expect her son's proficiency in Korean to reach the level of his parents. She would be satisfied if he attains a basic understanding for further

development if he, as a grown-up, wants to do so in the future.

(6) Mrs. Yun, 35 year old mother of a 10 year old child; high school graduate; came here 4 years ago; now resides in Los Angeles.

Mrs. Yun has tremendous difficulty in English. She wants her child to become a fluent bilingual. Her child can speak English like a native American child. A greater concern for the child is his Korean language proficiency. Mrs. Yun has been teaching him Korean and now he uses even honorifics properly. The parents do not respond to him when he speaks in English and this seems to have helped her child maintain Korean.

The parents desire to be very concerned and motivated parents as far as the education of the child is concerned. Recently, Mrs. Yun received a notice of a school open house from the child's teacher. She is agonizing over whether she should go or not. She wants to go to see the teacher but she is afraid of going because she would not be able to understand the teacher nor say anything meaningful. She is studying English at home looking up words in a dictionary, but feels that it is too late for her to learn a foreign language.

The foregoing interviews were from randomly selected samples. The types of problems and attitudes toward their native language use, however, are strikingly similar; that is, the Koreans are experiencing difficulty in communicating in and outside the home and want their children to become bilingual.

The issue of keeping the Korean language while living in the U.S., as discussed above, is primarily the concern of the first generation adults, who need to use the Korean language to communicate with the second generation Koreans. There are some factors that might help the Koreans in the Los Angeles area maintain the Korean language.

(1) The Koreans have established a sizable ethnic community and it is expanding rapidly with the increase of new immigrants. The community is large enough for any non-English-speaking Korean

to live without difficulty within the community. This situation might even hamper Koreans' learning English and delay the acculturation process.

(2) Air transportation directly connecting their adopted country with their homeland also enables the immigrants to maintain close contacts with their family, relatives, or friends in Korea. Also, the economic growth in Korea during the last decade has provided the immigrants with increased opportunities for business relationships with Korea. The number of visitors from Korea, either for business or family reunions, have risen tremendously. Vistors from Korea, when accommodated at an immigrant's home, create a decisive occasion for immigrant children to use the Korean language.

(3) The end of the World War II brought the Koreans not only political independence from Japanese colonial rule but also freedom to use their own language and to learn their heritage in their own language. Korean textbooks in elementary and secondary levels[1] tell on many occasions stories about the hardships suffered by Korean linguists and others who fought for the use of Korean under the 36 years of Japanese colonial rule.[2] Excellence

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[1] All the elementary and secondary schools use exclusively the government-authored textbooks for Korean language instruction.

[2] From early 1930's Japanese government urged and forced Koreans to speak Japanese and to change the one-character Korean surnames into two-character surnames following the pattern of Japanese surnames. From 1937 to 1939, they completely dropped Korean language courses from all the school curriculum and ordered all Koreans to speak Japanese. Publications of all Korean newspapers and magazines were discontinued. Any student found speaking Korean was punished.

of the Korean alphabet, "Hangul," is also repeatedly emphasized in the textbooks. King Sejong, monarch in the Lee Dynasty who led a team of linguists to invent "Hangul" and promulgated it in 1446, is one of the greatest national heroes. The Korean language education played the most important role in the post-war education policy that was geared to implant nationalism in the minds of young generations. The effect of the policy was so powerful that many adult Koreans identify the Korean language with their identity as Koreans and many Korean parents in the United States feel sorry or apologetic to see their children lose the home language.

(4) The period when a large influx of Korean immigrants to America occurred, a decade from late 60's, coincided with the days in the U.S. when the Civil Rights movement spread widely and ethnic minorities, including the Black community, began to actively search for their roots of identity. The Korean immigrants also heard and read about this Civil Rights movement and began to feel the need to maintain their cultural heritage.

For Koreans who have a strong preoccupation that the Korean language is the most important characteristic of Korean identity, maintenance and teaching of Korean have been serious issues in their children's education. Furthermore, Korean parents are greatly concerned about the linguistic and cultural gap between themselves and their children which is created by the different rate of linguistic and cultural adaptation. The majority of the immigrant families put a high value on traditionally strong family ties and young parents are still responsible for supporting

grandparents. Parents are anxious to impart this tradition to their children and consider their own language the best means for the task.

3.2 Organizations Having Direct Implications for the Maintenance of Korean. Recently, all the factors discussed above have prompted the community's active and organized efforts to maintain the Korean language. Public seminars and lectures on Korean language teaching sponsored by community organizations, establishment of Korean language schools, teaching the Korean language in many church schools, and active participation of the Korean language mass media in these community efforts are clear evidence that the maintenance of Korean is now a concern not only of a handful of individuals but of the entire community. In the following, the most significant organizations that have direct implications for the maintenance of the Korean language among Koreans, that is, Korean churches, Korean language schools, public schools with Korean bilingual education programs, and Korean language mass media, are described.

3.2.1 Korean Churches. The Korean Buiness Directory (The Korea Times, 1980) lists 233 Christian and 5 Buddhist churches in Los Angeles County and part of Orange County. These figures represent only those listed in the Directory; the actual number is expected to be considerably higher. The number of Christian churches newly established each year in the Los Angeles area up to January, 1979, is presented in Table 2.

As of January, 1979, the average attendance at the Sunday worship service was 24,863, which breaks down as follows: 16,890 adults, 5,398

elementary grade children, 2,125 secondary school children, and 450 college students.

Table 2. Number of Korean Churches Established in Southern California (1965-1978)

Year	Number	Year	Number
Before 1965	11	1972	11
1965	2	1973	13
1966	1	1974	12
1967	1	1975	31
1968	2	1976	23
1969	3	1977	23
1970	7	1978	53
1971	6	Jan. 1979	4

Source: Park, 1979.

Since the majority of Korean church members are recent immigrants, the Christian life style, including the church service ritual and social activities in or outside the church, is basically the same as that in Korea. One great difference, however, is that the Korean churches here have many unconventional roles. In addition to the primary role as a religious center, counseling for employment, education, and marriage, maintenance of Korean language and culture, and assistance in the adjustment to the new environments are also very important roles of the churches. The churches are very responsive to the needs of the new immigrants, more than any other public or community organizations. Perhaps, this is why so many Korean churches have been successful in converting a large proportion of Koreans to Christianity. About 60% of

the Koreans in the United States (Oh, 1979) and 73% of the Koreans in the Los Angeles area (Lee & Wagatsuma, 1978) are Christians, whereas the ratio is only about 16% in Korea (C.-H. Kim, 1980).

All the churches conduct worship services and other activities in Korean, and the church bulletins are printed in Korean. For the last two or three years, however, a few churches have started conducting an English worship service in addition to a Korean service for the second generation Koreans, mostly young children in the elementary grades. Many churches have been suffering from the shortage of church school teachers who can teach the children in English. In such churches, communication problems have become apparent between the children and the church school teachers. The churches and parents began to feel the need to teach Korean to the young generation Koreans. As of March, 1981, 37 churches in Los Angeles and Orange County had a program to teach the Korean language and Korean history. Although there are various problems yet to be resolved, such as the qualifications of the teachers and lack of instructional materials, the church schools' efforts are expected to generate significant impact on language restoration or maintenance, on the young Koreans' attitude toward the Korean language and culture, and also on the parents' attitude toward the education of their children as Koreans.

3.2.2 Korean Language Schools. As of March, 1981, in addition to the 37 churches where Korean is taught, there were 19 Korean language schools, mostly in Los Angeles County. The total enrollment in the Korean language schools and church schools was about 4,000, and the number of teachers reached about 350. Most of the church schools

conduct classes for two to three hours on Sundays. Some schools have classes on Saturdays. Subject matters taught frequently include Korean history, Korean songs, and Korean traditional martial arts, as well as the Korean language.

Two years ago, the Korean government for the first time dispatched two Korean consuls and two teachers to the U.S.; one consul and one teacher to Washington, DC, for the eastern region and the other two to Los Angeles for the west coast region. Their mission was specifically to assist the Korean community's efforts to teach the Korean language and culture to Korean children.

The two consular officers in the Los Angeles Consulate General are assisting the local community schools and churches mainly by providing textbooks, other educational materials and technical assistance. On Saturdays and Sundays their schedules are fully booked with visits to language schools and churches scattered all around Southern California. They carry films and slides on Korean culture and history and show them to the students. The films and slides usually have narrations in English. The textbooks they distribute are mostly those being used by students in Korea. Although teachers are aware of the inappropriateness of the contents of the books, many schools use them simply because of the lack of other materials.

The largest Korean school in the United States is the Korean School of Southern California. Since its opening in 1972 by a handful of concerned parents, it has been growing steadily with the growth of the Korean population and the increasing concern of the community. Now it has three branch schools in three different locations, one each in

Los Angeles Korea Town, San Fernando Valley, and Gardena. It is planning to open another branch school in Orange County.

As of March, 1981, the three branch schools of the Korean School of Southern California had total enrollments of 549 students (360 in the Los Angeles Branch, 85 in the San Fernando Branch, and 104 in the Gardena Branch), and 38 teachers (24, 7 and 7 in the respective branches). These schools conduct classes for three hours on Saturdays. The Los Angeles Branch uses the classrooms of the Hobart Boulevard Elementary School, a public school located in the middle of Korea Town; the Gardena Branch uses the Community Center building of the City of Gardena; and the San Fernando Valley Branch uses the church school classrooms of an American Christian church.

Since 1979, the school has been raising funds to construct its own building. As of September, 1980, about $210,000 were raised from the local Korean community. The Los Angeles agencies of several Korea-based banks pledged $130,000 and the Korean government pledged one million dollars for the next three years. The original goal of one million dollars has been revised to three million dollars considering the enthusiasm of the community and the rapid growth in the number of students.

There are two grade levels in the Korean School of Southern California, that is, beginning and intermediate levels. The beginning level is further divided into three sublevels (i.e., first, second, and third year classes) and the intermediate level into two sublevels. All the entering elementary school pupils are assigned to an appropriate level based on the results of the school-developed tests and oral

interviews with the teachers. There is also a separate class for older beginners, mostly high school students.

Unlike most church schools where the shortage of qualified teachers is a serious problem, most teachers of the Korean School of Southern California are qualified elementary or secondary teachers with teaching credentials issued by either the Korean government or appropriate American institutions. The students are from various parts of the Los Angeles area. Many of them commute with their parents 40-50 miles to attend the school. Despite the location of the Los Angeles Branch in the middle of Korea Town, only a relatively small proportion of the students are from the Korea Town area. Since they are mostly recent immigrants, their parents do not seem to feel it necessary to teach them Korean.

In summer, 1980, the school arranged a group learning trip to Korea for 53 pupils of the school. Encouraged by the favorable reactions from the pupils and parents, the school has decided to make it an annual event. About 100 young pupils are expected to participate in this event in 1981. Currently the school Board of Directors is considering elevating the status of the school to a regular private school by 1983 with the Korean language and culture as regular curricular subjects.

3.2.3 Bilingual Education in Public Schools. Since the passage of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, bilingual education for minority language children in public schools has been drawing increasing attention from the federal, state, and local educational agencies and from the general public. In the historical case of Lau vs. Nichols in

1974 (Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1977), the U.S. Supreme Court decided that providing equal educational programs for non-English-speaking (NES) and limited-English-speaking (LES) minority children alone does not by itself constitute equal education; that the children, in order to gain meaningful access to the content of the education, must receive special language instruction. The United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare established a set of guidelines for bilingual programs and many states with large numbers of language minority students enacted bilingual education legislation. For example, California law requires special instruction in the home language for NES/LES students enrolled in public schools.

As of April, 1980, there were 6,599 NES/LES Korean studerts (K-12) in California (California State Department of Education, 1980), and 4,406 in Los Angeles County alone. There have been various problems in implementing the legislation, however, due to the scarcity of research data on bilingual education in general, the shortage of qualified Korean bilingual teachers, and lack of adequate instructional materials. In spite of this, the bilingual education in California public schools formally recognizes the Korean language along with other minority languages as a medium of classroom instruction and is expected to bring about a significant, positive impact on the language maintenance of young, language-minority children for the following reasons:

First, use of a minority language by the classroom teacher will help the young children develop a positive attitude toward their language. It will also help the mainstream students accept their

language minority peers' use of an unusual language without causing negative effects on the minority peers.

Second, teaching literacy in the minority language using ethnically and culturally appropriate materials will provide the language minority children with meaningful opportunities to enhance their ethnic and cultural identity.

Finally, school personnel, including the bilingual teachers will have opportunities to inform parents about the academic and cognitive benefits of being bilingual and to encourage parents to expose their children to the home language as much as possible. The public schools and bilingual teachers, if they decide to be cooperative, can play a much more significant role than any other institution outside the family in the maintenance of the home language because of their traditional status as an authoritative educational institution.

3.2.4. Korean Language Daily Newspapers. There are three major Korean language daily newspapers which are published and circulated in the Korean communities in the U.S. These are, the Korea Times, the Dong-A Ilbo, and the Joong-Ang Daily News. These daily newspapers have been published in Los Angeles for over ten years. There are also two weeklies, one bimonthly, and two monthlies, all of which are published in Los Angeles and Orange County. Of the above, one weekly is bilingual and the bimonthly is exclusively in English. In addition to the above, there are at least a half dozen weekly or monthly evangelical Christian newspapers.

The three major daily newspapers have shown a common pattern of growth. They started as a branch office of a major homeland daily

newspaper based in Seoul, Korea, and grew with the increase of the Korean population in the U.S. In the beginning they brought a few hundred copies of newspapers from Seoul and distributed them by mail to Koreans in the Los Angeles area. Subsequently, to meet the increasing demand, they installed printing facilities and reprinted the original copy from Seoul with Korean advertisements all replaced by local ones. Soon they added local news pages.

The homeland section provides news on Korea and international news written from the viewpoint of Korean national interests. The American section offers the Korean community news, local and national American news, and some news from Korea. The news from Korea in the local edition is mainly to provide "a fast news service." Since the homeland edition takes one day to reach America and to be printed, the news in this section is usually one day behind. The readers are thus able to get a first-hand look into events in Korea in the local section and details of the same [illegible]ts the following day in the homeland section. All three papers are published Monday through Saturday, and the Saturday edition does not have a local section.

The Korea Times is known to have the largest circulation and longest history in the U.S. It has a larger number of pages than the other two. Since the three dailies share many common features, we will describe only one in detail, that is, the Korea Times.

(1) Circulation. Located on the edge of Los Angeles Korea Town (141 N. Vermont Avenue), the newspaper company has a staff of about 70, including 19 in the editorial department. The Korea Times Los Angeles Edition has a circulation of 25,000 as of

September, 1980. It is read by Koreans mostly on the west coast of the U.S. Of the total circulation, about 70 percent or 17,500 copies are circulated in the Los Angeles and Orange County areas. The rest of them go to Seattle, Denver, San Francisco, San Diego, and their vicinities. About 90 percent of the readers subscribe by mail.

(2) History. In 1965, the Korea Times Los Angeles Bureau brought for the first time about 150 copies of the newspaper from Seoul and distributed them to Koreans in Los Angeles. In June, 1966, an off-set printing machine was installed and the company started to reprint the original copy from Seoul. The advertisements in the original copy were replaced with local ads.

The first local news section appeared four years later in February, 1970. The one-page local section was published once a week. It was from December, 1972, that the local section began to be published daily. About 95 percent of the present subscriptions were gained without any solicitation.

(3) Format. The size of the newspaper page is a little larger than that of the standard American newspaper. It is 22 3/4 inches x 15 3/4 inches, compared to the 22 3/4 inches x 13 3/4 inches of the Los Angeles Times.

Published Monday through Saturday, the paper consists of two sections, the local section and the homeland section. The local section is produced in Los Angeles and provides news on Koreans in the U.S., local and national American news, and international news. The local section, normally, of the Tuesday edition has one

English language page for English reading subscribers. The homeland section, printed in Seoul, Korea, and reprinted in Los Angeles, carries news written in Korea, on both domestic and international affairs. The Saturday edition has the homeland section only with local commercial advertisements.

The number of pages varies from 16 to 32. The Saturday issue normally has 16 pages. The following examples show the typical distribution of pages in local and homeland sections.

a. Issue of August 20, 1980, Wednesday: total 28 pages.

Local Section - 20 pages including 16 1/2 pages of display and classified ads.

Homeland Section - 8 pages including 3 2/3 pages of display ads.

b. Issue of August 21, 1980, Thursday: total 36 pages.

Local Section - 28 pages including 18 pages of display and classified ads.

Homeland Section - 8 pages including 3 2/3 pages of display ads.

c. Issue of August 16, 1980, Saturday: total 16 pages.

No Local Section

Homeland Section - 12 pages of homeland version news and local display and classified ads.

Note: All the advertisements, whether in local or homeland section, originate from the local markets.

(4) Who are the Readers? Those who completed senior high school (12th grade) in Korea can read the paper without difficulty. The readers here are mostly first generation immigrants age 18 and older. They can be classified into three categories according to the time when they came to America:

before the year 1965 when the immigration law seriously limited the number of Asian immigrants; from 1965 to 1975; and after 1975.

For about 20 years before 1965, a large proportion of Koreans in the U.S. came here to study at colleges. Many of these Koreans remained in this country after graduation and now live in the White suburban areas. They subscribe to the Korean language newspaper with special interest in the political and economic developments in their homeland and Korean communities in the U.S.. For local and international news, they read major English newspapers.

During the period of 1965-75, a large number of Koreans came here as immigrants. They were mostly professionals, technicians, business investors, students, or relatives of Koreans who had come before 1975. This is the most aggressive and high-spirited group. Most of the current businesses in the Korea Town area were established by these people. Leaving their prestigeous occupation behind in Korea, many of them had to start their living anew as menial laborers or as blue-collar workers. Their businesses, especially those in Korea Town, have prospered as the number of Korean immigrants increased. These people are the most active readers of the Korean language newspaper and are also major advertisers. They are the group most actively participating in the social activities of the community.

The news items of interest to them are community news in which many of them are involved, and news about social, economic, and political developments in the homeland. Since their parents

brothers and sisters are still living in Korea, they are deeply concerned about changes in the homeland. Further, since they left their homeland not long ago and many of them visit the country frequently, they are well informed and keep continued interest in the news from Korea. They also read English newspapers for local, national and international news.

People who immigrated since 1975 are mostly immediate relatives of the immigrants who had come before. Many of them brought "seed money" from Korea and started their own small businesses. Being in the process of adjustment to their adopted country, they almost completely rely on Korean language newspapers to get information about the world surrounding themselves, including the Korean community, other minority or majority communities, the international scenes, as well as the news from their homeland.

(5) Who are the Advertisers? Korean business and professional people are the major advertisers. In display ads, about 80 percent of the space is occupied by Korean businesses. Big and frequent advertisers are grocery markets, furniture dealers, real estate agents, car dealers, insurance agents, Korean restaurants, and night clubs. Non-Koreans who place display ads include real estate agents and developers, food processors, and banks. In classified ads, Korean patrons buy about 70 percent of the space. Most of the non-Korean advertisers appearing in this space are real estate agents and rental property owners.

(6) Editorial Contents. Most of the stories printed in the local section are straight news. There is no regular column for commentaries or editorials. From time to time staff writers who cover a certain issue write a related commentary. Writers in the position of editorship write an editorial when an occasion requires it. Letters to the editor from readers take about one page a week. Once a week a special feature section of 3 to 4 pages is printed as a supplement.

Sources of the stories are individual contacts with local community organizations and leaders. Tipping-ins by readers are also frequent news sources. Homeland news in the local section is obtained by direct telephone calls to the Seoul office. Wire services of Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI) and major American newspapers also provide a considerable amount of news. Local, American, and international news is also obtained from wire services, City News Services (CNS), UPI, AP, and other major American newspapers and magazines.

The publisher has established the following as editor's criteria for selecting stories:

a. Speedy coverage of current events in the homeland.

b. Information related to education of children of Korean descent.

c. Protection of equal rights for Korean-Americans.

d. Providing consumer-type information for new immigrants.

e. Welfare of senior citizens.

(7) Community Services. The newspaper sponsors and co-sponsors many community events, ranging from a Korean Parade in the annual Korean Festival to a Miss Korea Beauty Pageant and cooking classes. During the one-year period starting March 1, 1978, the paper sponsored or co-sponsored 37 events and programs for the Korean community. Conducted all in Korean, those events and programs included 11 sports contests, 2 seminars on the education of children, 4 art exhibits, 2 performances of drama and 5 music concerts.

Publication of the Korean Business Directory in Southern California is another important community service of the Korea Times. From 1976, the paper has compiled and updated the directory every other year. The 1980 edition, the sixth in the series, was published in September, 1980.

The paper has also been providing information services by telephone for over 10 years. Currently the paper's Promotion Department answers calls asking phone numbers of Korean businesses and professional people who have placed ads in the paper or who were mentioned in any of the news stories in the paper.

3.2.5 Other Korean Language Mass Media. Besides the newspapers, there are also electronic mass media. They are TBC-TV (Channel 18), KBS-TV (Channel 22), Korea Times TV (Channel 18), and Worldwide Broadcasting Network (Channels 18 and 22). In addition to these four organizations, 4 to 5 churches broadcast evangelical messages one or two hours a week. These television broadcastings are aired through two local American television channels, Channels 18 and 22, for a limited

length of time bought under a transaction. Two of the four regular broadcastings are operated by two Korean language daily newspaper companies. The TBC-TV is operated by the Joong-ang Daily News, and the Korea Times TV by the Korea Times.

The air time of the four different broadcastings totals 16.5 hours per week. Airtime ranges from 1 to 2 hours per evening on weekdays and weekends. All the Korean language TV programs show commercials on local businesses. For the two broadcastings, TBC and KBS, the programs include a 10 to 15 minute newscast and entertainment tapes brought from Korea. The Worldwide Broadcasting Network is unique in that all the programs are aimed at the propagation of Christian evangelism.

The Korean language radio broadcasting is operated by an organization named KBC-Radio Station. They provide 24 hour programs only to listeners who rent a special receiver. Every evening from 8:00 to 9:00 they offer FM broadcasting on 107.1 MHz. Except for the newscast, most of the programs are brought from Korea and broadcast with locally-produced commercials.

Other businesses that have direct relevance to Korean language maintenance are print-shops, advertising companies, bookstores, and signboard makers. The 1980-81 Korean Business Directory lists 21 print-shops where Korean alphabet typesetting is available; 7 advertising companies; 5 Korean bookstores which sell books and magazines imported from Korea; and 7 Korean language signboard makers.

4.0 Business, Social, and Other Voluntary Organizations

The Korean Business Directory (the Korea Times, 1980) projects a good picture of the Korean community in Southern California as a well-established ethnic community. The 272-page directory lists over 2,200 businesses and organizations which serve mainly Korean speaking people. Many of these organizations are concentrated in Los Angeles Korea Town, particularly along two streets, Olympic Boulevard and Eighth Street between Vermont Avenue and Western Avenue.

Korea Town is immediately discernible by the Korean language sign boards of grocery stores, restaurants, real estate brokers, insurance agents, banks, etc. Koreans own many buildings and properties in this area. The Korean Community Center Building is located here, too, housing the offices of major community organizations, including the Korean Association of Southern California, the Korean Chamber of Commerce, and the office of the Korea School of Southern California. Here one can hear Korean spoken and feel as if he/she was in a street corner of Seoul. Here, one can buy a copy of a Korean language newspaper from news stands set up in front of markets or restaurants. Most street demonstrations to show support or protest about politics in Korea are held in this area. On September 21, 1980, a crowd of 80,000 people gathered along Olympic Boulevard for the 7th Annual Korean Parade which was held to celebrate the traditional Korean Thanksgiving, "Choosok," and to commemorate the bicentennial of the City of Los Angeles.

Many of the organization meetings are held either in the community center or at the restaurants in Korea Town. The nature of the meetings

varies: It may be an annual installation of officers for the Chamber of Commerce, a general meeting of an alumni association or a formation of an athletic team to be dispatched to Korea for the annual national sports event in fall. The meetings are held mainly in the evenings or during the weekends to avoid conflict with the working hours of the participants.

Businesses in Korea Town bustle on weekends. Grocery markets are crowded with housewives who shop for Korean groceries once a week or once a month. Restaurants are filled with Korean family, church, and business groups. Many families are on the way back from church to their suburban homes. Others come out merely to enjoy unadulterated ethnic food or attend a birthday or a reunion party.

In addition to various kinds of retail and service businesses, the 1980 Korean Business Directory lists a great number of community organizations such as 233 Christian churches, five Buddhist temples, 36 high school alumni associations, and 25 college alumni associations, which are scattered in Los Angeles and Orange Counties. The number of other non-profit social organizations, including the Korean Association of Southern California and the Korean Chamber of Commerce, reaches 100. The language used in the Korean businesses in Korea Town is mostly Korean.

In the following pages, brief profiles of the business and voluntary social organizations will be presented under four major headings.

4.1 Korean-Owned Businesses and Professionals. Table 3 shows the number of businesses listed in the two issues of the Korean Business Directory published by the Korea Times in 1978 and 1980, respectively.

Table 3. Type and Number of Businesses and Organizations Listed in 1978 and 1980-81 Korean Business Directory

	1978	1980	Korea Town Only (1980)
Advertising Company	7	7	7
Air Lines Office	3	3	2
Art Gallery	11	5	4
Auto Repair	34	42	28
Auto Sales (with Korean salesperson)	19	23	13
Bank (including agencies of Korean banks)	9	10	1
Bakery	7	9	8
Barber Shop	3	3	3
Beauty Shop	23	25	15
Book Store	3	8	5
C.P.A. & Accounting	27	26	20
Clinic, Doctor's Office, Chiropractor	29	80	38
Construction	25	25	15
Cosmetics	13	9	8
Custom Service & Transportation	11	22	4
Dental Clinic	59	105	39
Driving School	8	14	7
Fire Extinguisher & Installment	16	19	5
Flower & Nursery	24	33	9
Food Import & Wholesale	17	22	6
Fortune-Teller	9	7	6
Furniture	14	9	6
Gas Station	25	25	6
Gift Shop	34	71	45
Grocery Market	57	71	30
Health Club	4	6	5
Immigration Consultant, Interpreter	6	9	7
Insurance Agency	91	104	79
Interior Design & Carpet	6	6	4
Jewelry & Watch Shop	10	25	8
Laundry & Cleaner	7	8	3
Law Office	5	7	3
Lamp	0	4	1
Liquor	3	3	0
Building Maintenance	10	15	6
Men's Clothing & Tailor Shop	13	15	4
Music Instrument	6	11	7
Newspaper, Radio, TV	13	19	10
Night Club	25	31	21
Occupational Training, School, Institution	34	48	28
Office Supplies	6	7	5
Oriental Herbs & Acupuncture	37	57	37
Optical & Optometrist	0	6	5
Pharmacy	8	14	12
Photo & Camera	12	18	14
Print Shop	18	21	15
Painting Service	0	34	22
Real Estate	62	95	34
Restaurant	56	100	56
Sewing Machine & Vaccum	3	4	2
Shoe Sales & Repair	31	28	19
Sporting Goods & Guns	10	20	14
TV, Stereo, Ref., Sales & Repair	20	25	14
Tae Kwon Do Studio	24	40	6
Trading Company	107	237	65
Travel Agency	26	43	26
Trophy & Sign	6	11	9
Women's Clothing	51	56	34
TOTALS	1197	1800	905

The number in the last column represents the number of businesses in Korea Town and its vicinities covering twelve zip code zones, i.e., 90004, 90005, 90006, 90007, 90010, 90016, 90018, 90019, 90020, 90029, 90038, and 90057. Two categories which are in the Directory, that is, hotel and mortuary, are omitted from the table because they are mostly American-owned, and a number of listings in airline companies and law offices, which are non-Korean-owned or whose primary clients are non-Koreans, are not included in the table.

On the basis of the figures given in the table, the number of businesses increased by 603 (50%) during the two years from 1978 to 1980, and the Korean businesses in the Korea Town area constitute 50% of the total number of Korean businesses.

The table reveals a few significant points. Note that many retail or service businesses are closely related to the ethnic characteristics of the Korean population, such as restaurants and grocery markets selling ethnic foods, gift shops dealing with items suitable specifically to the Korean taste or items related to Korean culture, and oriental herbalists or acupuncturists which have been popular medical professions in Korea for many centuries.

Many of the high frequency businesses are those rendering services requiring a high degree of verbal communication. For example, in insurance sales, real estate sales, accounting services, dentistry and other medical professions, a high degree of verbal skills are essential for expressing physical and psychological feelings and also for establishing rapport or trust between the relevant parties. Frequently the relationship between the businesses and their customers is not

determined on the basis of the geographic proximity, but more on the basis of the communicative needs of the business people and their customers. This seems to be a very important factor that makes the Korean businesses in Korea Town successful despite the high concentration of competing businesses within a relatively limited area.

The following interviews with business proprietors provide first-hand information about the unique problems of the Korean businesses and the life in the Korea Town business sections.

(1) Mr. Oh
Real Estate Broker
36 year old male
B.A. in business from a college in Korea

Ninety percent of his clients are Koreans. Since they have difficulty in English, he has to do many extra services that a real estate broker does not normally do. On behalf of a buyer, he asks detailed questions of the seller. When he feels the seller becomes embarrassed or annoyed by certain questions, he has to explain apologetically that he is helping the buyer who doesn't speak English, nor understand American culture and ways of business dealings.

He knows that it is not a broker's responsibility to read a lease paper to his client. But, when the client insists on translating the lease, he cannot resist.

Sometimes, when his client buys a house, he gets involved in the chores of their moving. He is asked to make phone calls for connecting gas and telephone lines. He tries to inform them that those are not a broker's job. However, they plead him to do so. "When a customer begs for help, and asks for relieving his/her frustration of not speaking English, I become weak and yield, " he said in Korean. "Some clients demand these services as if they deserve them. Others appreciate them and send a small gift afterward. When I experience such a warm heart of understanding, I feel proud of myself for being able to serve Koreans and to link them with the American system," he said.

(2) Mr. Y. Lee
Insurance Agent
42 year old male
B.A. in Business from a U.S. university

He has little problem in communicating with American colleagues in his office or those in the company's main office.

Koreans have little or no experience with insurance before they immigrate to America. Therefore, he has to educate them on the system and operation of insurance.

For the insurance terms, he has to give his clients detailed explanations on their meaning one by one. Even those who can read English can't understand policies and they ask him to read and explain.

When an accident occurs, he has to do all the work of reporting and claiming. When a client feels a case was not settled satisfactorily, he places all the blame on the agent.

When his clients sign the first transaction for purchasing insurance, he tries to ensure that they understand the agreements by explaining them in Korean. The clients say they understand. But when an accident occurs, some of the clients say they didn't understand and were misled in buying the policy. Some clients think they give out money to the agent for nothing because the service is invisible unless an accident occurs.

Very often he encounters a new immigrant family. They usually start with discussing auto insurance. While listening to their problems, he finds himself committed to helping them with various chores, such as finding an apartment or job, etc.

(3) Mrs. Yun
Drycleaning
35 years old, high school graduate, has a 10 year old boy, came here 4 years ago, and now resides in L.A.

Recently her family bought a small drycleaning plant. Sometimes, she fails to understand customer's instructions and has to do the work all over again. There are customers blaming her for a hole or discolored spot which was there when the customer brought it in. There is no choice but to take the blame because she can not explain the problem in English. Once she washed a dress with water which should have been drycleaned, and ruined it because she did not understand the customer's instruction. She had to pay for the damage.

She would like for her son to become a medical doctor but he does not seem to be that smart. So far, he has been very obedient and she has not noticed any cultural conflict yet between her son and herself.

(4) Mrs. Yu
Beauty Shop in Korea Town
42 years old, immigrated 3 years ago, and has 3 children, 8, 12, and 14 years old.

Her English ability is very poor. Fortunately, most customers are Koreans and she hardly needs to use English. Since she orders shop supplies by mail she doesn't have to speak English even when she deals with English-speaking companies. Occasionally when she has an English-speaking customer, she has to use hand and facial expressions more than speech. It is like speaking in sign language.

(5) Mr. Lee
Liquor Store in Reseda
54 years old, immigrated 5 years ago

He has very few Korean customers. About 30-40% of the customers are Mexican-Americans who speak little English and the rest are Whites. The most common question the customers ask is the location of the thing the customer wants to buy. In most cases, he uses his finger to point to the direction. When someone says a long sentence, he concentrates to identify the name of the liquor and point out to the appropriate direction. Salespersons from the beer companies take care of the beer orders for him. His children prepare a written order for the hard liquor the night before the salesman is expected. What he does is simply to hand the order to the salesperson. When he has a Korean customer on occasions, he becomes quite talkative.

(6) Mr. Song
Korean Grocery Market in Canoga Park

Most customers are Koreans. Non-Korean customers do not exceed 10%. Occasionally when he has to explain how to prepare Korean barbecue to an English-speaking customer, he has to have all the necessary ingredients within his reach because he doesn't know the names of the ingredients. Normally, he doesn't have to speak long or complicated sentences in English. What he needs to say is mostly the price, weight, and the like. Most employees at his store are either Koreans or Mexican-Americans, because he doesn't have to worry about language problems with his fellow Koreans, and Mexican-Americans with limited English are very quick to understand his broken English. Sometimes he even feels confident among employees with limited English proficiency.

The interviews with the insurance and real estate agents clearly demonstrate that the linguistic and sociocultural problems of the

recent immigrant Koreans even threaten the business practice of the agents. The customers find so many things that they cannot understand nor handle properly because of the lack of English proficiency and also because of the lack of knowledge about business practices and the social system in general. On the other hand, the Korean-speaking agents see a great business potential in the Korean community and also understand the problems being experienced by the Koreans. Thus, the agents are more or less prepared to go through the difficulties expected from the circumstances of the Korean customers.

There is variation in clientele by the language they use. As mentioned above, the liquor store outside Korea Town has only a limited number of Korean customers, whereas Korean grocery markets and other small retail shops in the Korea Town area serve more Koreans than others. There is no doubt, however, that the use of the Korean language in the business environments in the Korea Town area, which has been growing rapidly in geographic size, will provide Koreans with opportunities to update and sharpen their Korean among the newer immigrants, and even opportunities to feel the need to learn or teach the Korean language.

4.2 Voluntary Social Organizations

(1) Organizations Representing the Community. The Korean community is highly organized in its efforts to solidify the relationships among the community members, and to protect and promote their sociocultural, political, and business interests. Among numerous organizations established for these purposes, the

following are those which are best known to the community and are most actively operating.

a. Korean Association of Southern California represents Korean-Americans in Los Angeles County. Koreans in Orange County, Ventura County, and San Bernardino County have their own Korean Association. Each association has a Board of Directors and Officers. Their major functions include relocation and employment services for new immigrant Koreans, counseling on social and educational matters, bridging the Korean community with public civil service institutions, etc.

b. Korean Chamber of Commerce, with about 200 Korean business representatives, represents Korean business people. This organization facilitates the communication among various local Korean businesses and between the homeland and local businesses, and assists arrangements between Korean and American businesses.

c. Korea Town Development Association represents Korean businesses in Los Angeles Korea Town. This Association sponsors the weeklong annual Korean Festival, which is climaxed by the Korean Parade on Olympic Boulevard. In 1980, the Korean Parade drew an estimated 80,000 spectators, both Koreans and non-Koreans, along Olympic Boulevard.

d. Korean-American Citizens League was organized in September, 1980, by Korean-Americans who were born here or

naturalized as United States citizens. This group's concern is in keeping or understanding the Korean cultural heritage to maintain or seek their identity as Korean decendants. Most members of this League are English monolinguals and have been fully assimilated into the mainstream culture. Maintenance or teaching of the Korean languge is rather of secondary interest.

(2) Alumni Associations. Thirty six high school and 25 college alumni associations are listed in the 1980 Korean Business Directory, all of which are associated with high schools and colleges in Korea. The official activities of these alumni clubs are mostly a group picnic during summer and a Christmas or New Year's party. Many alumni clubs publish a Korean language newsletter and an annual club directory. Besides the annual picnic and party, the clubs meet occasionally to welcome professors from their alma maters, or to celebrate members' weddings, anniversaries, opening a new business, etc.

The contacts among alumni are rather irregular compared to church meetings. The personal ties between alumni friends, however, are usually much closer than the ties made in churches or any other meetings. Most high school students in Korea normally stay together in the same school for a full six years, since the transiency rate is very low. The close ties of the old days come alive and become strengthened when they meet here far away from home. Considering the large proportion of high school and college graduates, and the traditionally close ties among the school

alumni, the alumni association's role in cultural and linguistic maintenance cannot be underestimated.

(3) Other Non-Profit Social Organizations. The Korean Business Directory also lists 78 community organizations, which include professional groups, business interest groups, scholarship foundations, artist associations, martial arts and other sports associations, boy and girl scouts, Lion's and Kiwanis clubs, theater group, symphony orchestra, Korean traditional music and dance institute, and so on.

4.3 Public-Funded Community Service Organizations. There have been federal, state, or other public efforts to cooperate with the Korean community or private organizations in helping Koreans on language and other sociocultural problems. The following are well-known in the Korean community to be actively serving many Koreans.

(1) Korean Association of Southern California provides free legal aid and job referral service in Korean for recent Korean immigrants, funded through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).

(2) California Korean Community Service Office offers free legal aid and interpretation service, also funded through the CETA.

(3) Korean Educational Guidance Center teaches English to new Korean immigrants, funded through Title VII.

(4) Korean Elderly Service Center provides free lunches to senior citizens. English classes are also conducted for the senior citizens.

(5) Korean Youth Center provides group activities and counseling to Korean youths above junior high school level.

(6) Korean-American Mental Health Service Center offers psychiatric counseling to Korean-Americans.

(7) The Korean Program Center of Wilshire YMCA conducts seminars, youth camps, trips, and various educational and recreational programs. Every year, over $10,000 is raised from the Korean community to support the YMCA activities.

4.4 Non-Korean Institutions Rendering Korean Language Service. Many non-Korean businesses try to attract Koreans by hiring Korean speaking clerks or placing advertisements in Korean language newspapers or on television programs. They include banks, insurance companies, real estate brokers, escrow companies, car dealers, and Oriental food wholesalers and manufacturers.

To meet the rapidly increasing demand of the Korean community, some government and other public organizations have begun to provide services in Korean. The following are the most important among them:

(1) Public Libraries. Libraries in or in the vicinity of Korea Town have shelves for Korean books. In September, 1980, a mobile library called Pio-Pico Library started its services in the heart of Los Angeles Korea Town. The library opens Monday through Friday from noon to 4:00 p.m., at the Ardmore Recreation Center in Korea Town. With about 1,000 volumes of Korean books, the library is attracting Korean students who are mostly new immigrants and are attending the nearby public schools. The seven-member staff includes two Korean speaking librarians.

(2) Police. The Los Angeles Police Department has an office called the Asian Task Force which employs two Korean bilingual officers. The Korean-American officers assist detectives in their investigation of cases in which Koreans or Korean businesses are involved. In the middle of 1980, the Wilshire Division, which has the jurisdiction over Los Angeles Korea Town, started a special patrol along the streets where Korean businesses are concentrated. The patrol is assisted by a Korean-American officer. With voluntary assistance from the community, the police have produced Korean language films and slides on crime prevention.

A series of lectures and seminars on crime prevention were held in mid-1980 jointly by the police and community organizations.

(3) State Department of Motor Vehicles. In cooperation with community organizations, the California DMV published a Korean language driver's handbook and began to use Korean language driver's license tests.

(4) County Health Center. Los Angeles County Health Centers in the Korea Town area regularly print their announcements on immunization and other major services in Korean.

(5) Post Offices. Post Offices in the zip code areas where Koreans reside in large numbers, put up on their office bulletin board announcements in Korean along with English and Spanish.

(6) Social Service Organizations. Other social service organzations rendering Korean language services include Oriental Service Center, Pacific Asian Consortium in Job Training, Pacific

Asian Rape and Battery Line, Asian Community Service Center,

Oriental Christian Counseling Center, etc.

5.0 Summary and Conclusions

The mass immigration of Koreans in the past decade made the Koreans a major visible Asian minority group in the United States. In large metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York, Korean ethnic communities have begun to emerge. The growth of the Korean community in the Los Angeles area is particularly impressive. The relative geographical proximity to their homeland, favorable weather conditions and occupational opportunities, and the existence of an already established Korean community have been attracting a large proportion of Korean immigrants to this area. About half of the Koreans in this area are concentrated in the so-called Los Angeles Korea Town area, which is located in the central part of the city of Los Angeles.

The majority of Koreans are recent immigrants. The Koreans, mostly middle or upper middle class in origin, are highly educated. They are relatively quick to adapt to the business conditions in the United States and are quite successful as small entrepreneurs. Due to various linguistic and sociological factors, however, the occupational level of many Koreans, including the emerging entrepreneurs, is not commensurate with their education nor the professional background that they enjoyed in their homeland.

The Koreans, like other ethnic minorities in this country, have various cultural traits that they want their following generations to maintain. There are also some cultural characteristics that they are willing to discard in their new environment. Traditionally, the structure of the Korean family has been strictly of the Confucian

tradition. The role and duty of each family member in relation to others are clearly defined and the relationships are always hierarchical: A wife should be submissive; a son reverential; a young person respectful. The family is an orderly whole, and each member is a dependent part rather than an independent constituent.

The traditional relationships are constantly being challenged and threatened in this totally different society where the independence of individuals, young or old, has been cherished as the highest virtue in every walk of life. Many Korean youths find themselves at a loss between the two cultures. They feel that they are not fully accepted by the mainstream society, nor do they feel at home in their family where their "excessive" Americanization is frequently regarded by the adult members as a decline in morality. The conflict is between the family members, as well as within the individual member him/herself.

The conflict within the family is frequently aggravated by the lack of communication between family members, particularly when the children are at the preschool or early school ages. First of all, the working parents are unable to allocate enough time and attention to their children. Second, the children, usually fully exposed to English in the school or neighborhood, tend to attain competency in English earlier than the parents. The children even begin to lose their Korean language skills. Consequently, many parents and children experience difficulty in communicating fully with each other. In such situations, the cultural gap between the parents and children widens rapidly.

Recently, there have been organized community efforts to help maintain the Korean language and other cultural traits among growing

children of Korean parents. Like many early European immigrant groups, the Korean community has begun to take a direct step towards attaining the goals of language maintenance and enhancement of ethnic cultural identity by establishing numerous weekend schools. There are numerous church schools in the Los Angeles area where Korean language and culture are taught in addition to the Bible. The number of such schools is expected to grow steadily if the current rate of immigration continues in the future.

Korean language mass media are playing a very important role in Korean language maintenance. The daily newspapers with a relatively large circulation have a homeland section identical to the one read by the readers in Korea and a local section written and edited in the United States. Thus, the readers keep up with the language currently used in the homeland as well as the major social and political developments in the homeland. The mass media also shape the public opinion about the necessity or value of the language and culture maintenance in the Korean community.

There are also a great number of retail and service businesses whose clientele are mostly Koreans. There are several hundreds of social, religious, and other voluntary organizations, including associations representing the local Korean community, various kinds of businesses, professional groups, community service organizations, social clubs, and churches. Most meetings of the associations and clubs are conducted exclusively in Korean. Recognizing the rapid growth in the Korean population and the problem of language communication being experienced by most Koreans, federal, state and

other public agencies have begun to assist the community organizations by providing funds or special services, such as printing common official forms in Korean.

In spite of various difficulties and problems, the community's efforts for language and culture maintenance seem to be growing rather rapidly. However, will such organized efforts bring about extraordinary results which are different from what the other ethnic minorities with a longer immigration history have experienced?

European immigrants, such as the German and the French, despite their tremendous numbers (approximately nine and ten million respectively, in 1910) were not very successful in maintaining their language and culture, and experienced a continuous decline in the use of their mother tongue (see chapters IX and X of Fishman, 1966). Their large numbers did make it possible for them to establish language islands where education and everyday communcation in and outside the home occurred in their mother tongue. Language loyalists of these groups once enjoyed the hope of maintaining the ethnic traits of the old country by teaching their children the mother tongue and the culture of the homeland in parochial or public schools in their community, by broadcasting and publishing newspapers and books in their language, and by organizing associations for language and culture maintenance. Neither the education of their children in the parochial schools, nostalgic sentiment, patriotism, nor ethnic pride, however, could stop the gradual, but powerful, force of the erosion of the immigrants' old linguistic and cultural system. By the third generation, the language and culture of the parents and grandparents

were not behavioral traits of the children any more and were acquired at best as items of information about their parents and grandparents.

Permanent maintenance of a non-English mother tongue now appears to be an unrealistic goal even within a well-bounded ethnic community. There is always tremendous pressure, from within and outside of the community, on the young immigrants or second generation children to learn and use English. The pressure is so powerful that it easily overrides the motivation provided by concerned parents and language loyalists. The prestige status of English, the priority of English over all others in employment considerations, the weakening resistance of the first generation immigrants to Anglification due to the high social and geographic mobility in the United States--all these factors are directly relevant to their survival and to the everyday feelings of ordinary individuals or families. Furthermore, language maintenance is to many people a matter of choice, where even an unwanted choice is not directly threatening to the existence or welfare of the individuals.

One might conclude that the language maintenance efforts of the Korean group are futile in the long run and destined to the same fate as those of the Europen groups. There are factors, however, that might make any such prediction hasty, if not simple-minded.

First of all, due to the federal and state legislation regarding bilingual education for minority language students, there have been positive changes in the attitude of both mainstream and minority groups toward minority languages. The official recognition of minority languages as a medium of instruction in many bilingual programs in California public schools should have a significant impact on the

language maintenance efforts of minority language groups: It may provide spiritual impetus to the language loyalists, and the use of minority languages at school as well as home may help the young immigrant children retain their mother tongue. Bilingual education, if it is fully implemented, will bring about a positive national and ethnic climate favorable to minority language maintenance.

Second, the relatively successful maintenance of the Spanish language in the Southwest is in large part attributed to the constant influx of new Mexican immigrants and to the geographic proximity to Mexico, which facilitates the frequent contact of Mexican-Americans with the homeland (Glazer, 1966). Although hardly comparable to the Mexican-American situation in the magnitude of the influx of new immigrants nor in the geographic proximity in the literal sense, the Korean group shares some commonalities in the above respects. The continuous threat from the communist regime of North Korea and the political and economic instability of Korea have encouraged a large number of Koreans to seek emigration to the United States. Furthermore, the contact of Korean-Americans with the homeland is becoming increasingly more frequent. Numerous local agencies of Korea-based trading companies have been created in the Korean community due to the Korean government's current economic policy which emphasizes foreign trade. Also, air transportation between the United States and Korea has never been more convenient than now.

Third, unlike other European immigrants, Koreans can never pass as "Whites." Their physical appearance makes Koreans or other colored races self-conscious as long as they remain minorities. The perpetual

self-consciousness may prolong the efforts of Koreans to maintain their linguistic and cultural heritage.

Also, the educated middle class background of the majority of Koreans should be a valuable asset. There are relatively ample human resources available for rationalizing, organizing, and executing language and culture maintenance efforts, including numerous ministers waiting to start a new church when they have enough new immigrants. Many middle-aged parents, who are playing leading roles in the Korean community, have an extraordinary determination to attain their goal, which has been enhanced through their education in Korea which emphasizes patriotism and strict discipline. The hardships that the Korean people had to undergo during the Japanese colonization and during the Korean War strengthened the nationalistic loyalty of the people.

On the other hand, there are also factors that make the picture less bright. First, the extremely high geographic mobility of the recent immigrants in Korea Town will greatly limit the role of Korea Town. There are positive signs that Korea Town will grow to a Korean language island if the current pattern and rate of immigration continue. But to most Korean immigrant residents in Korea Town, the language island will be a temporary phenomenon because they move out of Korea Town to suburban areas in a few years. Unless there emerge stable suburban ethnic communities, many Koreans living outside Korea Town may quickly loose ties with other Koreans.

Second, unlike business proprietors in Korea Town, many Korean small entrepreneurs flourishing outside Korea Town may begin to loose

motivation to maintain the Korean language and culture, and may prefer to conceal their ethnicity whenever possible to please their mainstream customers. Since small Korean-owned businesses are mostly family-operated and many older children spend a considerable amount of time helping their parents in the business, the children's propensity to assimilate quickly will be even further accelerated.

The language maintenance efforts in the Korean community are relatively recent. To ensure a good beginning and to make the noble endeavor fruitful, it is necessary for the Korean community leaders to rationalize the language maintenance efforts in terms which are understandable and convincing to the first generation parents and their children; to reevaluate the current approaches to the goals; and to systematize the procedures of executing the efforts on the basis of the past experiences of other language minority groups and of sound research on the linguistic, psychological, sociological, and ethnological aspects of language maintenance.

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APPENDIX

KOREAN SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES TEACHING THE KOREAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

March 31, 1981

Korean Consulate General in Los Angeles

KOREAN SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES TEACHING
THE KOREAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

(Southern California)

Name of Institution	No. of Tchrs.	No. of Students				Address & Phone No.	Date of Establishment
		Total	K-6	7-9	10-12		
Korean School of Southern California (L.A. area school)	24	360	292	45	23	980 S. Hobart Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90006 (213) 731-7121	2/1/1972
Korean School of Southern California (Valley area school)	7	85	65	10	10	11960 Victory Blvd. North Hollywood, CA (213) 731-7121	3/ /1979
Korean School of Southern California (South Bay area school)	7	104	79	25		1730 W. Gardena Blvd. (213) 731-7121	9/13/1980
Los Angeles Korean School	9	87	42	25	10	1666 Michigan Ave. Los Angeles, CA 90033 (213) 264-3822	6/19/1977
West Valley Korean School	5	100	60	20	20	6201 Winnectica Ave. Woodland Hills, CA 91317 (213) 347-0153	11/3/79
Pomona Korean School	5	70	18	22	30	904 E. D Street Ontario, CA 91761 (714) 987-4440	12/10/1979
East Southern California Korean School	3	32	25	7		2361 E. Date Street San Bernardino, CA 92404 (213) 864-0151	4/19/1980
Gardena Korean Language School	4	54	39	13	2	1655 W. Compton Gardena, CA 90247 (213) 323-5304	6/15/1976
Los Angeles Korean Christian Reformed Church	6	115	80	35		857 S. La Brea Ave. Los Angeles, CA 90025 (213) 934-8334	1/ /1978
The Oriental Mission Church	9	150	100	50		424 N. Western Ave. Los Angeles, CA 90004 (213) 464-7101	4/ /1978
Young-Nak Presbyterian Church of Los Angeles	8	150	105	45		1218 S. Fairfax Ave. Los Angeles, CA 90019 (213) 938-2437	4/5/1980
Orange County First Presbyterian Church	10	76	52	14	10	3141 Washington Ave. Midway City, CA 92655 (714) 632-8659	11/1/1978

Name of Institution	No. of Tchrs.	No. of Students				Address & Phone No.	Date of Establishment
		Total	K-6	7-9	10-12		
Wilshire United Methodist Church	4	55	40	15		711 S. Plymouth Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90005 (213) 931-1085	4/1/1979
Orange County First Methodist Church	3	30	25	5		1025 W. Memory Lane Santa Ana, CA 92706 (714) 543-8136	4/ /1980
Torrance Korean School	4	50	33	12	5	3915 W. 226th Street Torrance, CA 90505 (213) 373-4009	5/5/1979
Torrance Korean Education Center	4	20	12	6	2	3915 W. 226th Street Torrance, CA 90505 (213) 373-4009	5/1/1980
Torrance First Presbyterian Church	4	65	35	25	5	3939 W. Compton Ave. Hawthorne, CA 90250 (213) 532-0462	2/11/1979
Gardena Korean Baptist Church	4	26	7	13	6	1025 W. Compton Blvd. Gardena, CA 90247 (213) 323-4972	3/ /1979
Hebron Presbyterian Church	9	75	67	8		4050 W. Pico Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90019 (213) 735-8677	2/3/1980
Riverside Korean School	5	40	30	10		8351 Magnolia Ave. Riverside, CA 92504 (714) 685-1137	3/5/1979
South Bay Korean School	6	106	37	25	34	2043 Lomita Blvd. Lomita City, CA 90717 (213) 326-3045	2/5/1978
Los Angeles Korean Evangelical Church	8	28	23	3	2	1324 S. Berendo Street Los Angeles, CA 90006 (213) 382-9509	12/2/1979
First Evangelical Church	4	20	10	5	5	755 S. Crenshaw Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90004 (213) 738-1176	10/1/1978
Los Angeles Central United Methodist Church	16	110	87	23		420 E. 20th Street Los Angeles, CA 90011 (213) 747-4209	1/1/1979
South Korean Christian Church	3	30	15	10	5	10909 S. New Street Downey, CA 90241 (213) 868-6946	2/1/1980

Name of Institution	No. of Tchrs.	No. of Students				Address & Phone No.	Date of Establishment
		Total	K-6	7-9	10-12		
Southern California Dong Shin Church	5	30	10	10	10	10843 Kenney Street Norwalk, CA 90650 (213) 868-6858	9 / 19[illegible]
Antioch Presbyterian Church	3	41	28	8	5	1345 S. Burlington Ave. Los Angeles, CA 91205	1/1/19[illegible]
Pasadena Korean Church	4	38		38		393 N. Lake Avenue Pasadena, CA 91101 (213) 795-1254	5/4/1979
Mission Hills Korean Presbyterian Church						24102 Alicia Parkway Mission Viejo, CA 92653 (714) 837-3387	2/1/1980
Korean United Presbyterian Church	8	96	60	15	21	16351 Springdale St. Huntington Beach, CA 92647 (714) 964-5508	1/3/1980
Hacienda Korean Baptist Church	5	55	55			19648 Camino De Rosa Walnut, CA 91789 (714) 595-3110	3/18/19[illegible]
Valley United Methodist Church	8	65	65			15435 Rayon Street Sepulveda, CA 91343 (213) 989-0191	1/1/19[illegible]
Orange Korean United Presbyterian Church	3	35	25	10		191 N. Orange Street Orange, CA 92606 (714) 821-4836	7/ /1979
Orange Central Evangelical Church	7	65	45	10	10	8281 Page Street Buena Park, CA 90621 (714) 523-1460	2/10/1979
Orange Korean Presbyterian Church	8	95	75	20		643 W. Malvern Fullerton, CA 92632 (714) 871-8320	2/ /1977
Santa Ana Baptist Church	5	56	38	18		1816 S. Bristol Street Santa Ana, CA 92705 (714) 540-2586	1/ /1978
Korean United Presbyterian Church	9	90	85	4	1	1374 W. Jefferson Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90007 (213) 733-2922	4/ /1978
Gabriel Korean School	9	80	19	45	16	3404 Santa Anita Ave. El Monte, CA 91731 (213) 442-4591	7/10/1980

Name of Institution	No. of Tchrs.	No. of Students				Address & Phone No.	Date of Establishment
		Total	K-6	7-9	10-12		
Korean Mission Church in America	4	40	25	15		369 Mission Rd. Glendale, CA 91205 (213) 241-3633	1/2/1977
Korean Philadelphia Presbyterian Church	10	205	150	55		3412 W. 4th St. Los Angeles, CA 90020 (213) 383-4951	7/9/1978
Bethany United Presbyterian Church	3	65	30	25	10	1629 Griffith Park Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90026 (213) 672-3421	4/ /1980
Korean School of Physical Education	5	78	48	30		4501 Exposition Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90016 (213) 731-2801	7/20/1977
Los Angeles Young Hwa Church	2	16		16		3300 W. Adams Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90018 (213) 353-3593	12/3/1978
Garden Grove United Methodist Church	5	55	35	20		12741 Main Street. Garden Grove, CA 92640 (714) 636-7161	7/10/1975
Covina Christian Church	2	30	30			1662 E. Cypress St. Covina, CA 91723 (213) 331-8177	9/20/1979
Valley First Presbyterian Church	2	18	16	2		7823 Lindley Ave. Reseda, CA 91335 (213) 705-8572	4/ /1980
Garden Grove Korean School	3	40	36	4		12671 Buaro Street Garden Grove, CA (714) 636-9526	3/5/1977
Korean Evenezer Mission Church	2	35	35			2724 W. 8th Street Los Angeles, CA 90006 (213) 383-4571	5/18/1980
Los Angeles Korean Baptist Church	7	65	65			975 S. Berendo Street Los Angeles, CA 90006 (213) 383-4982	5/1/1975
Ventura County Korean School	5	50	35	15		241 Hill Street Oxnard, CA 93030 (805) 488-5304	7/1/1980
Monterey Park Good Shepherd Presbyterian Church	8	50	50			606 S. Atlantic Blvd. Monterey Park, CA 91754 (213) 283-9673	1/ /1978

Name of Institution	No. of Tchrs.	No. of Students				Address & Phone No.	Date of Establishment
		Total	K-6	7-9	10-12		
Hollywood Bethel Church	5	59	31	19	9	1733 N.New Hampshire Av. Hollywood, CA 90027 (213) 463-4971	6/20/1980
Cerritos Korean School	25	257	158	80	19	c/o John F. Kennedy School 17500 Belshire Blvd. Artesia, CA (213) 865-3564	12/28/1980
Canaan Christian Church	5	60	38	10	12	18116 Arline Ave. Artesia, CA 90701 (213) 924-1971	2/7/1981
Orange County Korean School							4/21/1981
San Diego United Presbyterian Church	8	50	50			320 Date Street San Diego, CA 92101 (714) 232-7513	2/ /1978

KOREAN SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES TEACHING
THE KOREAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

(Northern California)

Name of Institution	No. of Tchrs.	No. of Students				Address & Phone No.	Date of Establishment
		Total	K-6	7-9	10-12		
San Francisco Korean School	5	114	81	22	11	941-A Market Street San Francisco, CA 94523 (415) 543-9227	1/5/57
Berkeley Korean School	5	87	62	20	5	1940 Virginia Street Berkeley, CA (415) 991-1976	1/5/1974
Contra Costa Korean School	4	61	17	28	16	747 Kelley Avenue Martinez, CA 94553	3/10/1979
Monterey Korean School	3	28	20	8		1121 McClean Ave. Monterey, CA 93940	10/1/1972
Korean School	4	30	21	4	5	263 Hampton Rd. Hayward, CA 94541	7/5/1978
Oakland Methodist Church	4	35	20	15		3525 Kansas St. Oakland, CA 94619	10/1/1979
Sacramento Korean School							4/ /1981

KOREAN SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES TEACHING
THE KOREAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

(Seattle Area)

Name of Institution	No. of Tchrs.	No. of Students				Address & Phone No.	Date of Establishment
		Total	K-6	7-9	10-12		
Tacoma Korean School	4	40	40			11216 Port Bridge Portway South West, WA 98499 (206) 588-7788	3/ /1980
Oregon Korean School	5	50	50			510 S.W. 5th Ave. Rm.710 Portland, OR 97204 (503) 223-8888	1/20/19[illegible]
Church of Brethren	7	80	80			1013 8th Ave. Seattle, WA 98104 (206) 365-9463	3/ /1973
Korean Mission Church	2	25	25			515 S. 312 Street Federal Way, WA 98003 (206) 839-0172	6/ /1977
Seattle Korean School	4	68	68			Post Office Box 24992 Seattle, WA 98124 (206) 624-7604	5/6/1978

KOREAN SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES TEACHING
THE KOREAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

(Other Area)

Name of Institution	No. of Tchrs.	No. of Students				Address & Phone No.	Date of Establishment
		Total	K-6	7-9	10-12		
Phoenix Korean School	2	20	10	5	5	1017 N. 13th Street Phoenix, AZ 85008 (602) 959-0136	5/25/1980
Tucson Korean School	4	20	20			4126 E. Speedway Tucson, AZ 85712 299-2618	9/8/1980
Las Vegas Korean Presbyterian Church	3	30	10	20		300 S. 9th Street Las Vegas, NV 89101 (702) 642-4540	9/19/1976
Hawaii Senior Citizens College	4	77	77			1220 Aala Street #1203 Honolulu, HI 96817	3/1/1980
Korean Community School	12	115	75	15	25	1639 Keeaumoku Street Honolulu, HI 96822	4/4/19??
Guam Korean United Church	5	50	20	30		Post Office Box 7300 Camp Wakins Toad Temuning, GU	1/5/1979
Guam Korean School	20	114	55	38	21	Charan San Antonio Rd. Tamuning, GU (671) 646-6474	5/5/1973
Korean First Presbyterian Church	6	50	50			3300 Wyoming Dr. Anchorage, AK 99504	11/1/1980
Alaska Korean School	5	40	40			3102 Boniface Parking Wy. Anchorage, AK 99504	10/11/1980
Utah Korean School	10	60	52	8		4399 S. 500 E. Salt Lake City, UT 84117	5/19/1979